

PLUTARCH'S

LIVES





F. W. Newell



301

PLUTARCH'S LIVES. TRANS-
LATED FROM THE GREEK;
WITH NOTES BY JOHN AND
WILLIAM LANGHORNE.

WITH INTRODUCTORY NOTE
BY BERNARD J. SNELL, M.A., B.SC.



WALTER SCOTT
LONDON: 24 WARWICK LANE

PATERNOSTER ROW

1887

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	vii
ALCIBIADES	i
CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS	40
ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS COMPARED	73
NICIAS	77
MARCUS CRASSUS	111
NICIAS AND CRASSUS COMPARED	148
ALEXANDER	152
JULIUS CÆSAR	226
DEMOSTHENES	283
CICERO	308
DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO COMPARED	348

INTRODUCTION.



WE have recently had a multitude of counsellors giving us bewildering advice as to 'The Best Hundred Books.' Beyond showing the idiosyncrasies of the writers themselves, this striking diversity of counsel has not been of much practical service to those uninstructed but intelligent readers, for whose benefit these guides were induced to hold their light aloft. Save in some small respect. Within such wide extremes as Boteler's *West Coast of Africa* and the Dramas of Sir George Etherege, there has been manifested a remarkable consensus of opinion in favour of four or five classics of the world. Amongst these occurs Plutarch; and of his numerous works especial attention is directed to his *Lives*.

We cannot be wrong, therefore, in presenting to the English public a cheap edition of the more celebrated of these biographies. And we are the more sanguine as to the result of the experiment, seeing that up to the present time these vivid portraitures of some of the greatest men of Greece and Rome have not been at all widely known or

duly appreciated in Great Britain; while in France and Germany, where inexpensive translations are procurable, they have long been, perhaps, the most widely read of all the literary legacies of these ancient peoples. It were easy to multiply examples of almost unmeasured eulogy on the merits of this work. Suffice it to gather and present four approbatory testimonies, all from French sources. King Henry IV., hearing that his wife was pleased with the perusal of Plutarch's *Lives*, wrote to her:—"You could not have sent me tidings more agreeable. To love Plutarch is to love me, for he was instructor of my early years; and my good mother, to whom I owe so much, who watched over the formation of my character, and who was wont to say that she had no desire to see her son an illustrious ignoramus, put this book into my hands when I was little more than an infant at the breast. It has been my conscience, and has whispered in my ear many good suggestions and maxims for my conduct and the government of my affairs." Jean Jacques Rousseau declared that he never read Plutarch without profit. Madame Roland spoke of it as "the pasture of great souls." Montaigne said he could hardly do without a Plutarch always by his side, "he is so universal and so full;" and, in another place, "Plutarch is our breviary."

Rabelais and Scaliger in the sixteenth century pay him signal homage. Basil, the Bishop of Cappadocia, got many a hint from the heathen moralist. Jeremy Taylor constantly alludes to his writings. Neander, Rollin, and Montesquieu are heavily indebted to him. We may be permitted to add the hope and prophecy of Ralph Waldo Emerson, that "Plutarch will be perpetually re-discovered from time to time, as long as books last." The atmosphere in which he writes is so pellucid that

the reader sees the subjects without finding his attention diverted to consider the medium of communication ; hence the influence, which is justly supposed to be exercised by the biographies of high-minded men, is intensified by the fact of the excellency of the author's workmanship.

To appreciate a man's work at the full, it is generally taken for granted that it is well to know the man himself, his circumstances, and the incidents of his career. But in the irony of fate, Plutarch, the greatest biographer of the ancients, himself has no biographer. His contemporaries are absolutely silent about him. True, there are certain legends concerning him, but they are so manifestly of the nature of what Mr. Matthew Arnold calls "Aberglaube," that it is well to discard them altogether, and to depend entirely on what autobiographic touches almost unconsciously occur in his writings. There is small need to refer to the oft-refuted traditions which flattery has invented concerning him—that he was tutor to the Emperor Trojan, dignified with consular rank, and appointed governor of Greece. Plutarch's fame does not stand upon such poor fables.

He was, he himself being our informant, born at Chæronea, in Bœotia, near to that famous plain once described by Epaminondas as "the dancing-plot of Mars," where three battles were fought, the last of which proved fatal to the liberty of Greece, for there her arms went under to King Philip, and she became in reality an appanage of the Macedonian crown. Many a bantling, who knows nothing of Bœotia save the proverbial usage of its unhonoured name, has treated the adjective "Bœotian" as synonym of bovine dullness, quite innocent of the fact that Pindar, purest of all Greek poets—Epaminondas, greatest of Greek warrior-heroes—and Plutarch, best known of Greek historians

and best read of Greek philosophers, gloried in the fact of Bœotian citizenship.

The date of Plutarch's birth may be approximately placed in the year 50 of our era, when Greece was decadent and well-nigh depopulated, and an absolute military despotism prevailed at Rome. Nero came to the imperial throne in 54 A.D., and the apostle Peter entered the imperial city with the message of Christianity only a few years later.

As a young man Plutarch studied under the philosophers at Delphi and at Athens, and visited Alexandria and Asia Minor. It is certain that he frequently visited Rome, as well from political as philosophical motives. Rome was the heart of the world—that Rome which darkened the soul of Tacitus and maddened Juvenal. And there Plutarch lectured on ethics, and became familiar with the leading citizens. Of course he lectured, as he wrote, in Greek. He never thoroughly mastered the Latin language, and there is no indication of any wide acquaintance with Latin literature. Indeed, it is noteworthy that he does not once quote Virgil or Ovid, and the only allusion in all his works to Roman poetry is a line of Horace in his life of Lucullus. Though contemporary of Persius, Juvenal, Lucan, Seneca, Quintilian, Martial, Tacitus, Suetonius, and the two Plinies, he neither names them nor is named by them.

Even in his *Life of Cicero* he shows no familiarity with his philosophic writings; and he made small use of the Roman annalists, although their writings would have lent themselves readily to his literary purposes.

It was the time of the rallying of the heathen world. Following the train of imperial vileness came a series of better rulers for Rome, and under their more auspicious

sway there came to light a larger and a purer morality than Paganism had heretofore produced. The old virtues were not extinct. Greek literature, too, revived, in a sort of Indian summer, with the writings of Lucian, Epictetus, and Arrian. Then it was that Plutarch set himself the hard task of reconciling the popular religion with right reason, and undertook also the more congenial work of showing what good men Greece and Rome had bred. He took far more interest in the results than in the methods of philosophy, and no interest at all in mere verbal disputes. "Neither a bath nor a lecture serves any purpose, unless they are purgative." He expanded his lectures, delivered at Rome, into treatises; and so we have his *Morals*, comprising some eighty pieces, not at all confined to what we moderns understand as ethical subjects, but dealing widely with historical, archæological, and scientific concerns. Naturally, in comparison with the physical science of to-day, many of his guesses seem crude and puerile. But Plutarch's attitude is that of a poet rather than of a physicist.

Many of his writings have missed their way, so that not the veriest scrap of them survives. "What a trilogy is lost to mankind in his *Lives* of Scipio, Epaminondas, and Pindar!" The two latter biographies would have proved especially valuable to us, as they described his own fellow-countrymen. Certain Commentaries on Homer and Hesiod, too, are spoken of, but no trace of them remains; nor of his *Essays* and *Fables*.

His later days were spent in his native town. Small it was, said he, but he would not quit it, lest it should be smaller still. There, as a true citizen, he fulfilled certain unimportant magisterial and sacerdotal offices, happy both in his home-life and in his friendships. One little opening

presents itself, shedding a tender light upon his domestic relationships, and revealing at once his lofty ideal of the marriage-state and the hopeful attitude of his mind regarding the continuance of life after death. In some temporary absence of the philosopher from Chæronea, his little daughter had died, and he indited a consolatory letter to his wife. It contains an admirable picture of the sorrowing mother, and its views of death are altogether more inspiring than those which generally characterised his contemporaries.

Plutarch enjoyed that frequent reward of philosophy—long life ; but we have no reliable particulars of the time or the circumstances of his death. He won in his lifetime a large popularity and high esteem, which foreshadowed in some sense the enormous extent of his subsequent fame. Without any supreme intellectual gifts, Plutarch had that universal sympathy with genius which made its victories his own, and enables his readers to share his enthusiasm. Without using the vehicle of verse, he possessed all a poet's powerful imagination and dramatic instinct. His vast popularity rests upon his broad humanity ; his books are "so rammed with life," that they appeal to all sorts and conditions of readers.

La Harpe said that "Plutarch is the genius the most naturally moral that ever existed." We owe to him many noble words ; as when he said—"Truth is the greatest good that man can receive, and the goodliest blessing that God can bestow." "When you are persuaded in your mind that you can neither offer nor perform anything more agreeable to the gods than the entertaining a right notion of them, you will avoid superstition as a no less evil than atheism." His faith in the doctrine of Divine Providence is one with his faith in the soul's immortality. He holds it to be impossible that a man beloved of the gods should

not be happy, or that a wise and just man should not be beloved of the gods. "He always addressed great questions on the human rather than on the metaphysical side," said Emerson. Morgan, the translator of his *Morals* in the last century, delivered himself of the following strange sentence—"Plutarch was the wisest man of his age, and, if he had been a Christian, one of the best too; but it was his severe fate to flourish in those days of ignorance, which, 'tis a favourable opinion to hope that the Almighty will sometime wink at: that our souls may be with these philosophers together in the same state of bliss." He was the laureate of the ancient world: his works are a kind of encyclopædia of the accepted traditions of classic antiquity.

Plutarch's *Lives* are biography, not history. "He is," said Montaigne, "a philosopher that teaches us virtue." The historical background is subordinated to ethical ends. Possibly the initial impulse to the undertaking was his desire to show, in those days of Greek political nullity, that his native land had no need to fear comparison between her great men and those bred by the proud imperial city. This patriotic motive may be supposed to have dictated, too, the form of the work; for the biographies are in pairs, one Greek and one Roman in each pair. But this explanation must not be understood to suggest that Plutarch was ready to seize every opportunity of exalting Greece at the expense of her conqueror. The whole is written with supreme moral dignity, and there is as much impartiality in his criticism of Roman heroes as in his treatment of his compatriots. The fidelity of his judgments is as remarkable as their weight. He wrote to remind the wealthy Romans, who must have been the majority of his readers, as they had composed also the audiences to his lectures, by what virtues their forefathers had won the world, and to indicate that

oft-proven certainty, that the loss of moral sanity must, sooner or later, entail political disintegration and national decay.

There are in all forty-six parallel Lives and four detached Lives. Describing the careers of the greatest men of two great nations, there is no lack in Plutarch of vivid historical tableaux. His story of the defeat, flight, and murder of Pompey is called by Chateaubriand "*le plus beau morceau de Plutarque.*" The accounts of the catastrophe befalling the Athenian forces in Sicily, the suicide of Cato Minor, and the Parthian campaign of Crassus, are famous specimens of historical word-painting. His narrative of the final parting between Brutus and Cassius has been laid under heavy contribution by Shakespeare; and the same must be said of his celebrated description of the sail of Cleopatra on the Cydnus to meet Mark Antony, for to all intents and purposes our English dramatist has simply versified the periods of the Greek biographer. It is impossible to exaggerate the debt owing by Shakespeare to Plutarch in the matter of his plays dealing with Roman life. "*Coriolanus,*" "*Julius Cæsar,*" and "*Antony and Cleopatra*" could not have been written apart from the *Lives*. In several cases Shakespeare pays homage to Plutarch's dramatic insight by taking his incidents in the bulk, and simply mantling them in poetic language. Jean Paul Richter calls Plutarch "*the biographical Shakespeare of universal history.*" Some writers are nervously anxious about the plagiarism of Shakespeare. Public opinion willingly condones such borrowings, when the genius of the borrower changes scattered sand into crystal and dust into diamond. Shakespeare has been awarded universal right of trespass, for the fields his feet have wandered over are by that very fact made dearer and more precious. The

raw material which had been gathered by the research and arranged by the genius of Plutarch, "the Wizard of the World" had the discernment to detect and the ability to put to finest use. His noble confidence in his own resources left him free to appropriate whatever his art called for. Plutarch is not robbed by Shakespeare; he is glorified.

There are passages, too, of rare idyllic beauty—as in his portrayal of the peaceful and prosperous aspect of Italy in the life of Numa, when

"Secure Arachne spreads her slender toils
O'er the broad buckler; eating rust consumed
The vengeful swords and once far-gleaming spears;
No more the trump of war swells its hoarse throat,
Nor robs the eyelids of their genial slumber."

There is a poet's power in his description of the old age of blind Timoleon, when it was the joy and pride of Syracuse that its deliverer chose to spend his days with them, frankly despising the high acclaim of Greece; and in the pathetic account of the burial of him "who destroyed tyrants, subdued barbarians, re-peopled great cities which lay desolate, and restored to the Sicilians their laws and privileges." Many examples might be given of nervous expression and happy allusion—so many, indeed, that one ceases to wonder that Plutarch's *Lives* have been the gleanings of the poets of all the nations of Christendom.

Robert Browning has, in *Balaustion's Adventure*, made splendid use of the last chapter but one of Plutarch's "Nicias," especially in the passage detailing the Syracusans' love for the poetry of Euripides. The Rhodian heroine and her kinsmen, smitten hard by fate for their loyal love of Athens, are in danger of death at the hands of their

captors. Suddenly a voice cries—"Wait! do they know any verses from Euripides?" Balaustion can recite that sad, sweet play, "*Alcestis*." So she is placed on the temple steps, and the recital takes place amid the plaudits of the Sicilians. And for upshot the Rhodians are dismissed with good words and wishes, for

" . . . Greeks are Greeks, and hearts are hearts,
And poetry is power."

All this passage is moulded closely after Plutarch's lines.

And "*Dion*," too, that stately poem of Wordsworth's, is rooted in Plutarch's pages, with this fine "moral grafted on his fate"—

" Him only pleasure leads, and peace attends,
Him, only him, the shield of Jove defends,
Whose means are fair and spotless as his ends."

Mention has already been made of the fact, that for the most part Plutarch has set forth his biographies in pairs. Sometimes the parallelisms instituted by him rest on somewhat slender basis—as, for instance, when he couples Alcibiades with Coriolanus, on the ground apparently that both of them came to violent ends in banishment; or, when he associates Pelopidas with Marcellus, the only feature in common being that each of them fell victim to risks, which, in their responsible positions, their duty bade them shun. In other cases, orator is naturally leashed with orator, Demosthenes with Cicero, and ruler with ruler, Alexander with Julius Cæsar; and the excursus on the comparative merits of the various pairs is often valuable and suggestive. The comparison between the Greeks, Agis and Cleomenes, on the one hand, and the two Roman Gracchi on the other, shows a fine insight into the inner meaning and aim of the

lives of his subjects. This system of running parallels Montaigne thought "the most admirable part of all Plutarch's works, and the one with which he himself was most pleased." The latter judgment may be held as correct without implying the accuracy of the former. Remembering the initial impulse which moved Plutarch to the undertaking, it is quite probable that he may have prided himself on the exactitude of his parallels, and that he regarded it as the distinguishing excellence of his work. We, at this distance, are more grateful to him for the luminous portraiture of his heroes than for the nicety with which, jealous for "the glory that was Greece," he balanced them one over against the other.

It seems to be Plutarch's lasting fate to be read in translation. It is strange that the *Lives* were translated and printed in Latin more than a century before the appearance of the first printed edition of the original Greek *Works*; and while the latter were hardly current, scholars had gained for Plutarch a wide celebrity by translating him into German, French, Italian, and English. Amyot, a French abbé, published a translation in the reign of our Henry II., and from that work it was "done into" English in the time of Queen Elizabeth by Sir T. North. This was probably the work made use of by Shakespeare. By diligent collation of the existing manuscripts at Rome and Venice, Amyot has succeeded in considerably rectifying the text, which had suffered terribly from the carelessness of the transcribers and the supineness of the scholars, who had despised Plutarch's Greek, because it was neither so pure as that of Xenophon nor so terse as that of Aristophanes. Driven by dire necessity, Dryden lent the sanction of his name to a translation written by almost as many different hands as there were *Lives*; and the result was "a motley

work, full of errors, irregularities, and inconsistencies." But since the appearance of the translation by John and William Langhorne, there has been no need for a better. Their text is the one followed in the present edition.

The principle that has guided us in the selection of the following Lives has been our endeavour to present those biographies which are likely to prove most interesting to English readers, as well from their intrinsic merits as from the importance of the men with whom they deal.

The late Archbishop Trench published in 1873 *Four Lectures on Plutarch*, which are an exceedingly valuable introduction, especially to the ethical section of his works.

Mr. W. W. Skeats, in his *Shakespeare's Plutarch* (1880), has written an admirable preface, showing the extent of the indebtedness of our great national dramatist to the Greek biographer.





PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

ALCIBIADES.

WHOSE that have searched into the pedigree of Alcibiades, say, that Eurysaces, the son of Ajax, was founder of the family ; and that by his mother's side he was descended from Alcmaeon : for Dinomache, his mother, was the daughter of Megacles, who was of that line. His father Clinias gained great honour in the sea-fight of Artemisium, where he fought in a galley fitted out at his own expense, and afterwards was slain in the battle of Coronæ, where the Bœotians won the day. Pericles and Ariphron, the sons of Xanthippus, and near relations to Alcibiades, were his guardians. It is said (and not without reason), that the affection and attachment of Socrates contributed much to his fame. For Nicias, Demosthenes, Lamachus, Phormio, Thrasybulus, Theramenes, were illustrious persons, and his contemporaries, yet we do not so much as know the name of the mother of either of them ; whereas we know even the nurse of Alcibiades, that she was of Lacedæmon, and that her name was Amycla ; as well as that Zopyrus was his schoolmaster ; the one being recorded by Antisthenes, and the other by Plato.

As to the beauty of Alcibiades, it may be sufficient to say, that it retained its charm through the several stages of childhood, youth, and manhood. For it is not universally true, what Euripides says—

“ The very autumn of a form once fine
Retains its beauties.”

Yet this was the case of Alcibiades, amongst a few others, by reason of his natural vigour and happy constitution.

He had a lisping in his speech, which became him, and gave a grace and persuasive turn to his discourse. Aristophanes, in those verses wherein he ridicules Theoras, takes notice, that Alcibiades lisped, for instead of calling him *Corax*, *Raven*, he called him *Colux*, *Flatterer*; from whence the poet takes occasion to observe, that the term in that lisping pronunciation, too, was very applicable to him. With this agrees the satirical description which Archippus gives of the son of Alcibiades :—

“ With sauntering step, to imitate his father,
The vain youth moves ; his loose robe wildly floats ;
He bends the neck ; he lisps.”

His manners were far from being uniform : nor is it strange, that they varied according to the many vicissitudes and wonderful turns of his fortune. He was naturally a man of strong passions : but his ruling passion was an ambition to contend and overcome. This appears from what is related of his sayings when a boy. When hard pressed in wrestling, to prevent his being thrown, he bit the hands of his antagonist, who let go his hold, and said, “ You bite, Alcibiades, like a woman.”

“ No,” says he, “ like a lion.”

One day he was playing at dice with other boys in the street ; and when it came to his turn to throw, a loaded waggon came up. At first he called to the driver to stop, because he was to throw in the way over which the waggon was to pass. The rustic disregarding him and driving on, the other boys broke away ; but Alcibiades threw himself upon his face directly before the waggon, and stretching himself out, bade the fellow drive on if he pleased. Upon this, he was so startled that he stopped his horses, while those that saw it ran up to him with terror.

In the course of his education, he willingly took the lessons of his other masters, but refused learning to play upon the flute, which he looked upon as a mean art, and unbecoming a gentleman. “ The use of the *plectrum* upon the lyre,” he would say, “ has nothing in it that disorders the features or form, but a man is hardly to be known by his most intimate friends when he plays upon the flute. Besides, the lyre does not hinder the performer from speaking or accompanying it with a song ; whereas the flute so engages the mouth and the breath, that it leaves no possibility of speaking. Therefore, let the Theban youth pipe, who know not how to discourse ; but we Athenians,

according to the account of our ancestors, have Minerva for our patroness, and Apollo for our protector, one of whom threw away the flute, and the other stripped off the man's skin who played upon it."* Thus, partly by raillery, and partly by argument, Alcibiades kept both himself and others from learning to play upon the flute: for it soon became the talk among the young men of condition, that Alcibiades was right in holding that art in abomination, and ridiculing those that practised it. Thus it lost its place in the number of liberal accomplishments, and was universally exploded.

In the invective which Antipho wrote against Alcibiades, one story is, that when a boy he ran away from his guardians to one of his friends named Democrates; and that Aripbron would have had proclamation made for him, had not Pericles diverted him from it, by saying, "If he is dead, we shall only find him one day the sooner for it; if he is safe, it will be a reproach to him as long as he lives." Another story is, that he killed one of his servants with a stroke of his stick, in Sibyrtius's place of exercise. But, perhaps, we should not give entire credit to these things, which were professedly written by an enemy, to defame him.

Many persons of rank made their court to Alcibiades, but it is evident that they were charmed and attracted by the beauty of his person. Socrates was the only one whose regards were fixed upon the mind, and bore witness to the young man's virtue and ingenuity; the rays of which he could distinguish through his fine form. And fearing lest the pride of riches and high rank, and the crowd of flatterers, both Athenians and strangers, should corrupt him, he used his best endeavours to prevent it, and took care that so hopeful a plant should not lose its fruit and perish in the very flower. If ever fortune so enclosed and fortified a man with what are called her goods, as to render him inaccessible to the incision-knife of philosophy, and the searching probe of free advice, surely it was Alcibiades. From the first he was surrounded with pleasures, and a multitude of admirers determined to say nothing but what they thought would please, and to keep him from all admonition and reproof; yet, by his native penetration, he distinguished the value of Socrates, and attached himself to him, rejecting the rich and great who sued for his regard.

With Socrates he soon entered into the closest intimacy; and finding that he did not, like the rest of the unmanly crew, want

* Marsyas.

improper favours, but that he studied to correct the errors of his heart, and to cure him of his empty and foolish arrogance :

“Then his crest fell, and all his pride was gone,
He dropp'd the conquer'd wing.”

In fact, he considered the discipline of Socrates as a provision from heaven for the preservation and benefit of youth. Thus despising himself, admiring his friend, adoring his wisdom, and revering his virtue, he insensibly formed in his heart the image of love, or rather came under the influence of that power, who, as Plato says, secures his votaries from vicious love. It surprised all the world to see him constantly sup with Socrates, take with him the exercise of wrestling, lodge in the same tent with him; while to his other admirers he was reserved and rough. Nay, to some he behaved with great insolence, to Anytus (for instance) the son of Anthemion. Anytus was very fond of him, and happening to make an entertainment for some strangers, he desired Alcibiades to give him his company. Alcibiades would not accept of the invitation, but having drank deep with some of his acquaintance at his own house, he went thither to play some frolic. The frolic was this : He stood at the door of the room where the guests were entertained, and seeing a great number of gold and silver cups upon the table, he ordered his servants to take half of them, and carry them to his own house ; and then, not vouchsafing so much as to enter into the room himself, as soon as he had done this he went away. The company resented the affront, and said, he had behaved very rudely and insolently to Anytus. “Not at all,” said Anytus, “but rather kindly, since he has left us half, when he knew it was in his power to take the whole.”

He behaved in the same manner to his other admirers, except only one stranger. This man (they tell us) was but in indifferent circumstances ; for when he had sold all, he could make up no more than the sum of 100 *staters* ;* which he carried to Alcibiades, and begged of him to accept it. Alcibiades was pleased at the thing, and smiling, invited him to supper. After a kind reception and entertainment, he gave him the gold again, but required him to be present the next day, when the public revenues were to be offered to farm, and to be sure and be the highest bidder. The man endeavouring to

* The *stater* was a coin which weighed four Attic drachms, and was either of gold or silver. The silver was worth about two shillings and sixpence sterling,

excuse himself, because the rent would be many talents, Alcibiades, who had a private pique against the old farmers, threatened to have him beaten if he refused. Next morning, therefore, the stranger appeared in the market-place, and offered a talent more than the former rent. The farmers, uneasy and angry at this, called upon him to name his security, supposing that he could not find any. The poor man was indeed much startled and going to retire with shame, when Alcibiades, who stood at some distance, cried out to the magistrates, "Set down my name; he is my friend, and I will be his security." When the old farmers of the revenue heard this, they were much perplexed, for their way was, with the profits of the present year to pay the rent of the preceding; so that seeing no other way to extricate themselves out of the difficulty, they applied to the stranger in a humble strain, and offered him money. But Alcibiades would not suffer him to take less than a talent, which accordingly was paid. Having done this service, he told him he might relinquish his bargain.

Though Socrates had many rivals, yet he kept possession of Alcibiades's heart by the excellence of his genius and the pathetic turn of his conversation, which often drew tears from his young companion. And though sometimes he gave Socrates the slip, and was drawn away by his flatterers, who exhausted all the art of pleasure for that purpose, yet the philosopher took care to hunt out his fugitive, who feared and respected none but him; the rest he held in great contempt. Hence that saying of Cleanthes, Socrates gains Alcibiades by the ear, and leaves to his rivals other parts of his body, with which he scorns to meddle. In fact, Alcibiades was very capable of being led by the allurements of pleasure; and what Thucydides says concerning his excesses in his way of living, gives occasion to believe so. Those who endeavoured to corrupt him attacked him on a still weaker side, his vanity and love of distinction, and led him into vast designs and unseasonable projects, persuading him, that as soon as he should apply himself to the management of public affairs, he would not only eclipse the other generals and orators, but surpass even Pericles himself, in point of reputation as well as interest with the powers of Greece. But as iron, when softened by the fire, is soon hardened again and brought to a proper temper by cold water, so when Alcibiades was enervated by luxury, or swollen with pride, Socrates corrected and brought him to himself by his discourses; for from them he learned the number of his defects and the imperfection of his virtue.

When he was past his childhood, happening to go into a grammar-school, he asked the master for a volume of Homer ; and upon his making answer that he had nothing of Homer's, he gave him a box on the ear, and so left him. Another schoolmaster telling him he had Homer corrected by himself : "How !" said Alcibiades, "and do you employ your time in teaching children to read ? you who are able to correct Homer might seem to be fit to instruct men."

One day wanting to speak to Pericles, he went to his house, and being told there that he was busied in considering how to give in his accounts to the people, and therefore not at leisure, he said, as he went away, he had better consider how to avoid giving in any account at all.

Whilst he was yet a youth, he made the campaign at Potidæa, where Socrates lodged in the same tent with him, and was his companion in every engagement. In the principal battle they both behaved with great gallantry ; but Alcibiades at last falling down wounded, Socrates advanced to defend him, which he did effectually in the sight of the whole army, saving both him and his arms. For this the prize of valour was certainly due to Socrates, yet the generals inclined to give it Alcibiades on account of his quality ; and Socrates, willing to encourage his thirst after true glory, was the first who gave his suffrage for him, and pressed them to adjudge him the crown and the complete suit of armour. On the other hand, at the battle of Delium, where the Athenians were routed,* and Socrates, with a few others, was retreating on foot, Alcibiades observing it, did not pass him, but covered his retreat, and brought him safe off, though the enemy pressed furiously forward, and killed great numbers. But this happened a considerable time after.

To Hipponicus, the father of Callias, a man respectable both for his birth and fortune, Alcibiades one day gave a box on the ear ; not that he had any quarrel with him or was heated by passion, but purely because, in a wanton frolic, he had agreed with his companions to do so. The whole city being full of the story of this insolence, and everybody (as it was natural to expect) expressing some resentment, early next morning Alcibiades went to wait on Hipponicus, knocked at the door, and was admitted. As soon as he came into his presence, he stripped off his garment, and presenting his naked body, desired him to beat and chastise him as he pleased. But instead of

* Laches, as introduced by Plato, tells us, that if others had done their duty as Socrates did his, the Athenians would not have been defeated in the battle of Delium. That battle was fought B.C. 424.

that Hipponicus pardoned him, and forgot all his resentment ; nay, some time after, he even gave him his daughter Hipparete in marriage. Some say it was not Hipponicus, but his son Callias, who gave Hipparete to Alcibiades, with ten talents to her portion ; and that when she brought him a child he demanded ten talents more, as if he had taken her on that condition. Though this was but a groundless pretence, yet Callias, apprehensive of some bad consequence from his artful contrivances, in a full assembly of the people declared, that if he should happen to die without children, Alcibiades should be his heir.

Hipparete made a prudent and affectionate wife ; but at last growing very uneasy at her husband's associating with such a number of courtesans, both strangers and Athenians, she quitted his house and went to her brother's. Alcibiades went on with his debaucheries, and gave himself no pain about his wife ; but it was necessary for her, in order to a legal separation, to give in a bill of divorce to the archon, and to appear personally with it ; for the sending of it by another hand would not do. When she came to do this according to law, Alcibiades rushed in, caught her in his arms, and carried her through the market-place to his own house, no one presuming to oppose him, or to take her from him. From that time she remained with him until her death, which happened not long after, when Alcibiades was upon his voyage to Ephesus. Nor does the violence used in this case seem to be contrary to the laws either of society in general, or of that republic in particular. For the law of Athens, in requiring her who wants to be divorced to appear publicly in person, probably intended to give the husband an opportunity to meet with her and to recover her.

Alcibiades had a dog of an uncommon size and beauty, which cost him seventy *mina*, and yet his tail, which was his principal ornament, he caused to be cut off. Some of his acquaintance found great fault with his acting so strangely, and told him, that all Athens rang with the story of his foolish treatment of the dog : at which he laughed and said, "This is the very thing I wanted ; for I would have the Athenians talk of this, lest they should find something worse to say of me."

The first thing that made him popular, and introduced him into the administration, was his distributing of money, not by design, but accident. Seeing one day a great crowd of people as he was walking along, he asked what it meant ; and being informed there was a donative made to the people, he distributed money too, as he went in amongst them. This meeting

with great applause, he was so much delighted, that he forgot a quail which he had under his robe, and the bird, frightened with the noise, flew away. Upon this, the people set up still louder acclamations, and many of them assisted him to recover the quail. The man who did catch it, and bring it to him, was one Antiochus,* a pilot, for whom he had ever after a particular regard.

He had great advantages for introducing himself into the management of public affairs, from his birth, his estate, his personal valour, and the number of his friends and relations : but what he chose above all the rest to recommend himself by to the people, was the charms of his eloquence. That he was a fine speaker the comic writers bear witness ; and so does the prince of orators, in his oration against Midias, where he says that Alcibiades was the most eloquent man of his time. And if we believe Theophrastus, a curious searcher into antiquity, and more versed in history than the other philosophers, Alcibiades had a peculiar happiness of invention, and readiness of ideas, which eminently distinguished him. But as his care was employed not only upon the matter but the expression, and he had not the greatest facility in the latter, he often hesitated in the midst of a speech, not hitting upon the word he wanted, and stopping until it occurred to him.

He was famed for his breed of horses and the number of chariots. For no one besides himself, whether private person or king, ever sent seven chariots at one time to the Olympic games. The first, the second, and the fourth prizes, according to Thucydides, or the third, as Euripides relates it, he bore away at once, which exceeds everything performed by the most ambitious in that way. Euripides thus celebrates his success—

“ Great son of Clinias, I record thy glory,
First on the dusty plain
The threefold prize to gain :
What hero boasts thy praise in Grecian story?
Twice† does the trumpet's voice proclaim
Aloud the plausible cirque thy honour'd name :
Twice on thy brow was seen
The peaceful olive's green,
The glorious palm of easy-purchased fame.”

* The name of the man who caught the quail would hardly have been mentioned, had not Alcibiades afterwards entrusted him with the command of the fleet in his absence : when he took the opportunity to fight, and was beaten.

† Alcibiades won the first, second, and third prizes in person ; besides which his chariots won twice in his absence.

The emulation which several Grecian cities expressed, in the presents they made him, gave a still greater lustre to his success. Ephesus provided a magnificent pavilion for him : Chios was at the expense of keeping his horses and beasts for sacrifice ; and Lesbos found him in wine and everything necessary for the most elegant public table. Yet, amidst this success, he escaped not without censure, occasioned either by the malice of his enemies, or by his own misconduct. It seems there was at Athens one Diomedes, a man of good character and friend of Alcibiades, who was very desirous of winning a prize at the Olympic games ; and being informed that there was a chariot to be sold, which belonged to the city of Argos, where Alcibiades had a strong interest, he persuaded him to buy it for him. Accordingly he did buy it, but kept it for himself, leaving Diomedes to vent his rage, and to call gods and men to bear witness of the injustice. For this there seems to have been an action brought against him ; and there is extant an oration concerning a chariot, written by Isocrates, in defence of Alcibiades, then a youth ; but there the plaintiff is named Tisius, not Diomedes.

Alcibiades was very young when he first applied himself to the business of the republic, and yet he soon showed himself superior to the other orators. The persons capable of standing in some degree of competition with him, were Phæax the son of Erasistratus, and Nicias the son of Niceratus. The latter was advanced in years, and one of the best generals of his time. The former was but a youth, like himself, just beginning to make his way : for which he had the advantage of high birth ; but in other respects, as well as in the art of speaking, was inferior to Alcibiades. He seemed fitter for soliciting and persuading in private, than for stemming the torrent of a public debate ; in short, he was one of those of whom Eupolis says, " True, he can talk, and yet he is no speaker." There is extant an oration against Alcibiades and Phæax, in which, amongst other things, it is alleged against Alcibiades, that he used at his table many of the gold and silver vessels provided for the sacred processions, as if they had been his own.

There was at Athens one Hyperbolus, of the ward of Perithois, whom Thucydides makes mention of as a very bad man, and who was a constant subject of ridicule for the comic writers. But he was unconcerned at the worst things they could say of him, and being regardless of honour, he was also insensible of shame. This, though really impudence and folly, is by some people called fortitude and a noble daring. But, though no one liked him, the people nevertheless made use of him, when they

wanted to strike at persons in authority. At his instigation, the Athenians were ready to proceed to the ban of *ostracism*, by which they pull down and expel such of the citizens as are distinguished by their dignity and power, therein consulting their envy rather than their fear.

As it was evident that this sentence was levelled against one of the three, Phæax, Nicias, or Alcibiades, the latter took care to unite the contending parties, and leaguings with Nicias, caused the *ostracism* to fall upon Hyperbolus himself. Some say it was not Nicias, but Phæax, with whom Alcibiades joined interest, and by whose assistance he expelled their common enemy, when he expected nothing less. For no vile or infamous person had ever undergone that punishment. So Plato, the comic poet, assures us, thus speaking of Hyperbolus—

“ Well had the caitiff earned his banishment,
But not by ostracism ; that sentence sacred
To dangerous eminence.”

But we have elsewhere given a more full account of what history has delivered down to us concerning this matter.*

Alcibiades was not less disturbed at the great esteem in which Nicias was held by the enemies of Athens, than at the respect which the Athenians themselves paid him. The rights of hospitality had long subsisted between the family of Alcibiades and the Lacedæmonians, and he had taken particular care of such of them as were made prisoners at Pylos ; yet when they found that it was chiefly by the means of Nicias that they obtained a peace and recovered the captives, their regards centred in him. It was a common observation among the Greeks, that Pericles had engaged them in a war, and Nicias had set them free from it ; nay, the peace was even called the Nician peace. Alcibiades was very uneasy at this, and out of envy of Nicias, determined to break the league.

As soon, then, as he perceived that the people of Argos both feared and hated the Spartans, and consequently wanted to get clear of all connection with them, he privately gave them hopes of assistance from Athens ; and both by his agents and in person, he encouraged the principal citizens not to entertain any fear, or to give up any point, but to apply to the Athenians, who were almost ready to repent of the peace they had made, and would soon seek occasion to break it.

But after the Lacedæmonians had entered into alliance with

* In the life of Nicias.

the Bœotians, and had delivered Panactus to the Athenians, not with its fortifications, as they ought to have done, but quite dismantled, he took the opportunity, while the Athenians were incensed at this proceeding, to inflame them still more. At the same time he raised a clamour against Nicias, alleging things which had a face of probability; for he reproached him with having neglected, when commander-in-chief, to make that * party prisoners who were left by the enemy in Sphacteria, and with releasing them, when taken by others, to ingratiate himself with the Lacedæmonians. He farther asserted, that though Nicias had an interest with the Lacedæmonians, he would not make use of it to prevent their entering into the confederacy with the Bœotians and Corinthians; but that when an alliance was offered to the Athenians by any of the Grecian states, he took care to prevent their accepting it, if it were likely to give umbrage to the Lacedæmonians.

Nicias was greatly disconcerted: but at that very juncture it happened that ambassadors from Lacedæmon arrived with moderate proposals, and declared that they had full powers to treat and decide all differences in an equitable way. The senate was satisfied, and next day the people were to be convened; but Alcibiades, dreading the success of that audience, found means to speak with the ambassadors in the meantime; and thus he addressed them, "Men of Lacedæmon! what is it you are going to do? Are not you apprised that the behaviour of the senate is always candid and humane to those who apply to it, whereas the people are haughty and expect great concessions? If you say that you are come with full powers, you will find them intractable and extravagant in their demands. Come, then, retract that impudent declaration, and if you desire

* After the Lacedæmonians had lost the fort of Pylos in Messenia, they left in the isle of Sphacteria, which was opposite that fort, a garrison of 320 men, besides Helots, under the command of Epitades, the son of Molobrus. The Athenians would have sent Nicias, while commander-in-chief, with a fleet against that island, but he excused himself. Afterwards Cleon, in conjunction with Demosthenes, got possession of it, after a long dispute, wherein several of the garrison were slain, and the rest made prisoners, and sent to Athens. Among those prisoners were 120 Spartans, who by the assistance of Nicias got released. The Lacedæmonians afterwards recovered the fort of Pylos: for Anytus, who was sent with a squadron to support it, finding the wind directly against it, returned to Athens; upon which the people, according to their usual custom, condemned him to die; which sentence, however, he commuted by paying a vast sum of money, being the first who reversed a judgment in that manner.

to keep the Athenians within the bounds of reason, and not to have terms extorted from you which you cannot approve, treat with them as if you had not a discretionary commission. I will use my best endeavours in favour of the Lacedæmonians." He confirmed his promise with an oath, and thus drew them over from Nicias to himself. In Alcibiades they now placed an entire confidence, admiring both his understanding and address in business, and regarding him as a very extraordinary man.

Next day the people assembled, and the ambassadors were introduced. Alcibiades asked then in an obliging manner, what their commission was, and they answered, that they did not come as plenipotentiaries. Then he began to rave and storm, as if he had received an injury, not done one ; and calling them faithless, prevaricating men, who were come neither to do nor to say anything honourable. The senate was incensed ; the people were enraged ; and Nicias, who was ignorant of the deceitful contrivance of Alcibiades, was filled with astonishment and confusion at this change.

The proposals of the ambassadors thus rejected, Alcibiades was declared general, and soon engaged the Argives,* the Mantineans, and Eleans, as allies to the Athenians. Nobody commended the manner of this transaction, but the effect was very great, since it divided and embroiled almost all Peloponnesus, in one day lifted so many arms against the Lacedæmonians at Mantinea, and removed to so great a distance from Athens the scene of war ; by which the Lacedæmonians, if victorious, could gain no great advantage, whereas a miscarriage would have risked the very being of their state.

Soon after this battle at Mantinea, the principal officers of the Argive army attempted to abolish the popular government in Argos, and to take the administration into their own hands. The Lacedæmonians espoused the design, and assisted them to carry it into execution. But the people took up arms again, and defeated their new masters ; and Alcibiades coming to their aid, made the victory more complete. At the same time he persuaded them to extend their walls down to the sea, that they might always be in a condition to receive succours from the Athenians. From Athens he sent them carpenters and

* He concluded a league with these states for one hundred years, which Thucydides has inserted at full length in his fifth book ; and by which we learn that the treaties of the ancient Greeks were no less perfect and explicit than ours. Their treaties were of as little consequence too ; for how soon was that broken which the Athenians had made with the Lacedæmonians ?

maçons, exerting himself greatly on this occasion, which tended to increase his personal interest and power, as well as that of his country. He advised the people of Patræ too, to join their city to the sea by long walls. And somebody observing to the Patrensiens that the Athenians would one day swallow them up; "Possibly it may be so," said Alcibiades, "but they will begin with the feet, and do it by little and little, whereas the Lacedæmonians will begin at the head, and do it all at once." He exhorted the Athenians to assert the empire of the land as well as of the sea; and was ever putting the young warriors in mind to show by their deeds that they remembered the oath they had taken in the temple of Agraulos.* The oath is, that they will consider wheat, barley, vine, and olives as the bounds of Attica; by which it is insinuated, that they should endeavour to possess themselves of all lands that are cultivated and fruitful.

But these, his great abilities in politics, his eloquence, his reach of genius, and keenness of apprehension, were tarnished by his luxurious living, his drinking and debauches, his effeminacy of dress, and his insolent profusion. He wore a purple robe with a long train, when he appeared in public. He caused the planks of his galley to be cut away, that he might lie the softer, his bed not being placed upon the boards, but hanging upon girths. And in the wars he bore a shield of gold, which had none of the usual ensigns † of his country, but in their stead, a Cupid bearing a thunderbolt. The great men of Athens saw his behaviour with uneasiness and indignation, and even dreaded the consequence. They regarded his foreign manners, his profusion, and contempt of the laws, as so many means to make himself absolute. And Aristophanes well expresses how the bulk of the people were disposed towards him—

"They love, they hate, but cannot live without him."

* Agraulos, one of the daughters of Cecrops, had devoted herself to death for the benefit of her country; it has been supposed, therefore, that the oath which the young Athenians took, bound them to do something of that nature, if need should require; though, as given by Plutarch, it implies only an unjust resolution to extend the Athenian dominions to all lands that were worth seizing. Demosthenes mentions the oath in his oration *De fals. legat.*, but does not explain it.

† Both cities and private persons had, of old, their ensigns, devices, or arms. Those of the Athenians were commonly Minerva, the owl, or the olive. None but people of figure were allowed to bear any devices; nor even they, until they had performed some action to deserve them; in the meantime their shields were plain white.

And again he satirises him still more severely by the following allusion—

“Nurse not a lion’s whelp within your walls,
But if he is brought up there, soothe the brute.”

The truth is, his prodigious liberality, the games he exhibited, and the other extraordinary instances of his munificence to the people, the glory of his ancestors, the beauty of his person, and the force of his eloquence, together with his heroic strength, his valour, and experience in war, so gained upon the Athenians, that they connived at his errors, and spoke of them with all imaginable tenderness, calling them sallies of youth, and good-humoured frolics. Such were his confining Agatharcus the painter,* until he had painted his house, and then dismissing him with a handsome present; his giving a box on the ear to Taureus, who exhibited games in opposition to him, and vied with him for the preference; and his taking one of the captive Melian women for his mistress, and bringing up a child he had by her. These were what they called his good-humoured frolics, but surely we cannot bestow that appellation upon the slaughtering of all the males in the isle of Melos† who had arrived at years of puberty, which was in consequence of a decree that he promoted. Again, when Aristophon had painted the courtesan Nemea with Alcibiades in her arms, many of the people eagerly crowded to see it, but such of the Athenians as were more advanced in years were much displeased, and considered these as sights fit only for a tyrant’s court, and as insults on the laws of Athens. Nor was it ill observed by Archestratus, that Greece could not bear another Alcibiades. When Timon, famed for his misanthropy, saw Alcibiades, after having gained his point, conducted home with great honour from the place of assembly, he did not shun him, as he did other men, but went up to him, and shaking him by the hand, thus addressed him, “Go on, my brave boy, and prosper; for your prosperity will bring on the ruin of all this crowd.” This occasioned various reflections; some laughed, some railed, and others were extremely moved at the saying. So various were the judgments formed of Alcibiades, by reason of the inconsistency of his character.

In the time of Pericles,‡ the Athenians had a desire after

* This painter had been familiar with Alcibiades’s mistress.

† The isle of Melos was one of the Cyclades, a colony of Lacedæmon.

‡ Pericles, by his prudence and authority, had restrained this extravagant ambition of the Athenians. He died B.C. 430. Two years after this, the

Sicily, and when he had paid the last debt to nature, they attempted it ; frequently, under pretence of succouring their allies, sending aids of men and money to such of the Sicilians as were attacked by the Syracusans. This was a step to greater armaments. But Alcibiades inflamed this desire to an irresistible degree, and persuaded them not to attempt the island in part, and by little and little, but to send a powerful fleet entirely to subdue it. He inspired the people with hopes of great things, and indulged himself in expectations still more lofty : for he did not, like the rest, consider Sicily as the end of his wishes, but rather as an introduction to the mighty expeditions he had conceived. And while Nicias was dissuading the people from the siege of Syracuse, as a business too difficult to succeed in, Alcibiades was dreaming of Carthage and of Libya : and after these were gained, had designed to grasp Italy and Peloponnesus, regarding Sicily as little more than a magazine for provisions and warlike stores.

The young men immediately entered into his schemes, and listened with great attention to those who under the sanction of age related wonders concerning the intended expeditions ; so that many of them sat whole days in the places of exercise, drawing in the dust the figure of the island and plans of Libya and Carthage. However, we are informed, that Socrates the philosopher, and Meton the astrologer, were far from expecting that these wars would turn to the advantage of Athens : the former, it should seem, influenced by some prophetic notices with which he was favoured by the genius who attended him ; and the latter, either by reasons which led him to fear what was to come, or else by knowledge with which his art supplied him. Be that as it may, Meton feigned himself mad, and taking a flaming torch, attempted to set his house on fire. Others say that he made use of no such pretence, but burned down his house in the night, and in the morning went and begged of the people to excuse his son from that campaign, that he might be a comfort

Athenians sent some ships to Rhegium, which where to go from thence to the succour of the Leontines, who were attacked by the Syracusans. The year following they sent a still greater number ; and two years after that, they fitted out another fleet of a greater force than the former ; but the Sicilians having put an end to their divisions, and by the advice of Hermocrates (whose speech Thucydides, in his fourth book, gives us at large), having sent back the fleet, the Athenians were so enraged at their generals for not having conquered Sicily, that they banished two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles, and laid a heavy fine upon Eurymedon. So infatuated were they by their prosperity, that they imagined themselves irresistible.

to him under his misfortune. By this artifice he imposed upon them, and gained his point.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals much against his inclination ; for he would have declined the command, if it had been only on account of his having such a colleague. The Athenians, however, thought the war would be better conducted, if they did not give free scope to the impetuosity of Alcibiades, but tempered his boldness with the prudence of Nicias. For as to the third general, Lamachus, though well advanced in years, he did not seem to come at all short of Alcibiades in heat and rashness.

When they came to deliberate about the number of the troops, and the necessary preparations for the armament, Nicias again opposed their measures, and endeavoured to prevent the war. But Alcibiades replying to his arguments, and carrying all before him, the orator Demosthenes proposed a decree, that the generals should have the absolute direction of the war, and of all the preparations for it. When the people had given their assent, and everything was got ready for setting sail, unlucky omens occurred, even on a festival that was celebrated at that time. It was the feast of Adonis ;* the women walked in procession with images, which represented the dead carried out to burial, acting the lamentations, and singing the mournful dirges usual on such occasions.

Add to this the mutilating and disfiguring of almost all the statues of Mercury,† which happened in one night ; a circumstance which alarmed even those who had long despised things of that nature. It was imputed to the Corinthians, of whom the Syracusans were a colony : and they were supposed to have done it, in hopes that such a prodigy might induce the Athenians to desist from the war. But the people paid little regard to this insinuation, or to the discourses of those who said that there was no manner of ill presage in what had happened, and that it was nothing but the wild frolic of a

* On the feast of Adonis all the cities put themselves in mourning ; coffins were exposed at every door ; the statues of Venus and Adonis were borne in procession, with certain vessels filled with earth, in which they had raised corn, herbs, and lettuce, and these vessels were called *the gardens* of Adonis. After the ceremony was over, the *gardens* were thrown in the sea or some river. This festival was celebrated throughout all Greece and Egypt, and among the Jews too, when they degenerated into idolatry, as we learn from Ezekiel viii. 14 ; “ And behold there sat women weeping for Tammuz,” that is, Adonis.

† The Athenians had statues of Mercury at the doors of their houses, made of stones of a cubical form.

parcel of young fellows, flushed with wine, and bent on some extravagance. Indignation and fear made them take this event not only for a bad omen, but for the consequence of a plot which aimed at great matters; and therefore both senate and people assembled several times within a few days, and very strictly examined every suspicious circumstance.

In the meantime, the demagogue Androcles produced some Athenian slaves, and certain sojourners, who accused Alcibiades and his friends of defacing some other statues, and of mimicking the sacred mysteries in one of their drunken revels: on which occasion, they said, one Theodorus represented the herald, Polytion the torch-bearer, and Alcibiades the high priest; his other companions attending as persons initiated, and therefore called *Mystæ*. Such was the import of the deposition of Thessalus, the son of Cimon, who accused Alcibiades of impiety towards the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine. The people being much provoked at Alcibiades, and Androcles, his bitterest enemy, exasperating them still more, at first he was somewhat disconcerted. But when he perceived that the seamen and soldiers too, intended for the Sicilian expedition, were on his side, and heard a body of Argives and Mantineans, consisting of 1000 men, declare that they were willing to cross the seas, and to run the risk of a foreign war for the sake of Alcibiades, but that if any injury were done to him, they would immediately march home again; then he recovered his spirits, and appeared to defend himself. It was now his enemies' turn to be discouraged, and to fear that the people, on account of the need they had of him, would be favourable in their sentence. To obviate this inconvenience, they persuaded certain orators, who were not reputed to be his enemies, but hated him as heartily as the most professed one, to move it to the people that it was extremely absurd that a general who was invested with a discretionary power, and a very important command, when the troops were collected, and the allies all ready to sail, should lose time, while they were casting lots for judges, and filling the glasses with water, to measure out the time of his defence. In the name of the gods, let him sail, and when the war is concluded, be accountable to the laws, which will still be the same.

Alcibiades easily saw their malicious drift, in wanting to put off the trial, and observed, that it would be an intolerable hardship to leave such accusations and calumnies behind him, and be sent out with so important a commission, while he was in suspense as to his own fate. That he ought to suffer death, if

he could not clear himself of the charge ; but if he could not prove his innocence, justice required that he should be set free from all fear of false accusers, before they sent him against their enemies. But he could not obtain that favour. He was indeed ordered to set sail ; which he accordingly did, together with his colleagues, having near 140 galleys in his company, 5100 heavy-armed soldiers, and about 1300 archers, slingers, and others light-armed ; with suitable provisions and stores.

Arriving on the coast of Italy, he landed at Rhegium. There he gave his opinion as to the manner in which the war should be conducted, and was opposed by Nicias ; but as Lamachus agreed with him, he sailed to Sicily, and made himself master of Catana. This was all he performed, being soon sent for by the Athenians to take his trial. At first, as we have observed, there was nothing against him but slight suspicions, and the depositions of slaves and persons who sojourned in Athens. But his enemies took advantage of his absence, to bring new matter of impeachment, adding to the mutilating of the statues, his sacrilegious behaviour with respect to the mysteries, and alleging that both these crimes flowed from the same source,* a conspiracy to change the government. All that were accused of being anyways concerned in it, they committed to prison unheard ; and they repented exceedingly that they had not immediately brought Alcibiades to his trial, and got him condemned upon so heavy a charge. While this fury lasted, every relation, every friend and acquaintance of his, was very severely dealt with by the people.

Thucydides has omitted the names of the accusers, but others mention Diocledes and Teucer. So Phrynichus, the comic poet—

“Good HERMES, pray, beware a fall ; nor break
Thy marble nose, lest some false Diocledes,
Once more his shafts in fatal poison drench.

MERC. I will. Nor e'er again shall that informer,
Teucer, that faithless stranger, boast from me
Rewards for perjury.”

Indeed, no clear or strong evidence was given by the informers. One of them being asked how he could distinguish the faces of those who disfigured the statues, answered, that he discerned them by the light of the moon ; which was a plain

* They gave out, that he had entered into a conspiracy to betray the city to the Lacedæmonians, and that he had persuaded the Argives to undertake something to their prejudice.

falsity, for it was done at the time of the moon's change. All persons of understanding exclaimed against such baseness ; but this detection did not in the least pacify the people ; they went on with the same rage and violence with which they had begun, taking informations, and committing all to prison whose names were given in.

Among those that were then imprisoned, in order to their trial, was the orator Andocides, whom Hellanicus the historian reckons among the descendants of Ulysses. He was thought to be no friend to a popular government, but a favourer of oligarchy. What contributed not a little to his being suspected of having some concern in defacing the *Hermæ*, was, that the great statue of Mercury, which was placed near his house, being consecrated to that god by the tribe called the *Ægeis*, was almost the only one amongst the most remarkable which was left entire. Therefore, to this day it is called the *Hermes* of Andocides, and that title universally prevails, though the inscription does not agree with it.

It happened that among those who were imprisoned on the same account, Andocides contracted an acquaintance and friendship with one Timæus ; a man not equal in rank to himself, but of uncommon parts and a daring spirit. He advised Andocides to accuse himself and a few more ; because the decree promised impunity to anyone that would confess, and inform, whereas the event of the trial was uncertain to all, and much to be dreaded by such of them as were persons of distinction. He represented that it was better to save his life by a falsity than to suffer an infamous death as one really guilty of the crime ; and that with respect to the public, it would be an advantage to give up a few persons of dubious character, in order to rescue many good men from an enraged populace.

Andocides was prevailed upon by these arguments of Timæus ; and informing against himself and some others, enjoyed the impunity promised by the decree ; but all the rest whom he named were capitally punished, except a few that fled. Nay, to procure the greater credit to his depositions, he accused even his own servants.

However, the fury of the people was not so satisfied ; but turning from the persons who had disfigured the *Hermæ*, as if it had reposed a while only to recover its strength, it fell totally upon Alcibiades. At last they sent the Salaminian galley to fetch him, artfully enough ordering their officer not to use violence, or to lay hold of his person, but to behave to him with civility, and to acquaint him with the people's orders that he

should go and take his trial, and clear himself before them. For they were apprehensive of some tumult and mutiny in the army, now it was in an enemy's country, which Alcibiades, had he been so disposed, might have raised with all the ease in the world. Indeed, the soldiers expressed great uneasiness at his leaving them, and expected that the war would be spun out to a great length by the dilatory counsels of Nicias, when the spur was taken away. Lamachus, indeed, was bold and brave, but he was wanting both in dignity and weight, by reason of his poverty.

Alcibiades immediately embarked ;* the consequence of which was, that the Athenians could not take Messena. There were persons in the town ready to betray it, whom Alcibiades perfectly knew, and as he apprised some that were friends to the Syracusans of their intention, the affair miscarried.

As soon as he arrived at Thurii, he went on shore, and concealing himself there, eluded the search which was made after him. But some person knowing him, and saying, "Will not you, then, trust your country?" he answered, "As to anything else I will trust her; but with my life I would not trust even my mother, lest she should mistake a black bean for a white one." Afterwards being told that the republic had condemned him to die, he said, "But I will make them find that I am alive."

The information against him ran thus: "Thessalus, the son of Cimon, of the ward of Lacias, accuseth Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, of the ward of Scambonis, of sacrilegiously offending the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine, by counterfeiting their mysteries, and showing them to his companions in his own house. Wearing such a robe as the high priest does while he shows the holy things, he called himself high priest, as he did Polytion torch-bearer, and Theodorus, of the ward of Phygea, herald: and the rest of his companions he called *persons initiated*,† and *brethren of the secret*; herein acting contrary to the rules and ceremonies established by the Eumolpidæ,‡ the

* He prudently embarked in a vessel of his own, and not on the Salaminian galley.

† The *Mystæ*, or persons initiated, were to remain a year under probation, during which time they were to go no further than the vestibule of the temple: after that term was expired they were called *epoptæ*, and admitted to all the mysteries, except such as were reserved for the priests only.

‡ Emolpus was the first who settled these mysteries of Ceres, for which reason his descendants had the care of them after him; and when his line failed, those who succeeded in the function were, notwithstanding, called Eumolpidæ.

heralds and priests of Eleusis." As he did not appear, they condemned him, confiscated his goods, and ordered all the priests and priestesses to denounce an execration against him ; which was denounced accordingly by all but Theno, the daughter of Menon, priestess of the temple of Agraulos, who excused herself, alleging that she was a priestess for prayer, not for execration.

While these decrees and sentences were passing against Alcibiades, he was at Argos ; having quitted Thurii, which no longer afforded him a safe asylum, to come into Peloponnesus. Still dreading his enemies, and giving up all hopes of being restored to his country, he sent to Sparta to desire permission to live there under the protection of the public faith, promising to serve that state more effectually, now he was their friend, than he had annoyed them, whilst their enemy. The Spartans granting him a safe-conduct, and expressing their readiness to receive him, he went thither with pleasure. One thing he soon effected, which was to procure succours for Syracuse without further hesitation or delay, having persuaded them to send Gylippus thither, to take upon him the direction of the war, and to crush the Athenian power in Sicily. Another thing which he persuaded them to was, to declare war against the Athenians, and to begin its operations on the continent : and the third, which was the most important of all, was to get Decelea fortified ; for this being in the neighbourhood of Athens, was productive of great mischief to that commonwealth.*

These measures procured Alcibiades the public approbation at Sparta, and he was no less admired for his manner of living in private. By conforming to their diet and other austerities, he charmed and captivated the people. When they saw him close shaved, bathing in cold water, feeding on their coarse bread, or eating their black broth, they could hardly believe that such a man had ever kept a cook in his house, seen a perfumer, or worn a robe of Milesian purple. It seems, that

* Agis, King of Sparta, at the head of a very numerous army of Lacedæmonians, Corinthians, and other nations of Peloponnesus, invaded Attica, and, according to the advice which Alcibiades had given, seized and fortified Decelea, which stood at an equal distance from Athens and the frontiers of Bœotia, and by means of which the Athenians were now deprived of the profits of the silver mines, and the rents of their lands, and of the succours of their neighbours. But the greatest misfortune which happened to the Athenians, from the beginning of the war to this time, was that which befell them this year in Sicily, where they not only lost the conquest they aimed at, together with the reputation they had so long maintained, but their fleet, their army, and their generals.

amongst his other qualifications, he had the very extraordinary art of engaging the affections of those with whom he conversed, by imitating and adopting their customs and way of living. Nay, he turned himself into all manner of forms with more ease than the chameleon changes his colour. It is not, we are told, in that animal's power to assume a white, but Alcibiades could adapt himself either to good or bad, and did not find anything which he attempted impracticable. Thus at Sparta he was all for exercise, frugal in his diet, and severe in his manners. In Asia he was as much for mirth and pleasure, luxury and ease. In Thrace, again, riding and drinking were his favourite amusements : and in the palace of Tissaphernes, the Persian grandee, he outvied the Persians themselves in pomp and splendour. Not that he could with so much ease change his real manners, or approve in his heart the form which he assumed ; but because he knew that his native manners would be unacceptable to those whom he happened to be with, he immediately conformed to the ways and fashions of whatever place he came to. When he was at Lacedæmon, if you regarded only his outside, you would say, as the proverb does, "This is not the son of Achilles, but Achilles himself ; this man has surely been brought up under the eye of Lycurgus : " but then if you looked more nearly into his disposition and his actions, you would exclaim, with Electra in the poet, "The same weak woman still ! " * For while King Agis was employed in a distant expedition, he corrupted his wife Timæa so effectually, that she was with child by him, and did not pretend to deny it ; and when she was delivered of a son, though in public she called him Leotychidas, yet in her own house she whispered to the female friends and to her servants, that his true name was Alcibiades. To such a degree was the woman transported by her passion. And Alcibiades himself, indulging his vein of mirth, used to say, his motive was not to injure the king, or to satisfy his appetite, but that his offspring might one day sit on the throne of Lacedæmon. Agis had information of these matters from several hands, and he was the more ready to give credit to them, because they agreed with the time. Terrified with an earthquake, he had quitted his wife's chamber, to which he returned not for the next ten months : at the end of which Leotychidas being born, he declared the child was not his ; and for this reason he was never suffered to inherit the crown of Sparta.

* This is spoken of Hermione, in the *Orestes* of Euripides, upon her discovering the same vanity and solicitude about her beauty, when advanced in years, that she had when she was young.

After the miscarriage of the Athenians in Sicily, the people of Chios, of Lesbos, and Cyzicum, sent to treat with the Spartans about quitting the interests of Athens, and putting themselves under the protection of Sparta. The Bœotians, on this occasion, solicited for the Lesbians, and Pharnabazus for the people of Cyzicum ; but at the persuasion of Alcibiades, succours were sent to those of Chios before all others. He likewise passed over into Ionia, and prevailed with almost all that country to revolt, and attending the Lacedæmonian generals in the execution of most of their commissions, he did great prejudice to the Athenians.

But Agis, who was already his enemy on account of the injury done to his bed, could not endure his glory and prosperity ; for most of the present successes were ascribed to Alcibiades. The great and the ambitious among the Spartans were indeed, in general, touched with envy ; and had influence enough with the civil magistrates to procure orders to be sent to their friends in Iona to kill him. But timely foreseeing his danger, and cautioned by his fears, in every step he took he still served the Lacedæmonians, taking care all the while not to put himself in their power. Instead of that, he sought the protection of Tissaphernes, one of the grandees of Persia, or lieutenants of the king. With this Persian he soon attained the highest credit and authority : for himself a very subtle and insincere man, he admired the art and keenness of Alcibiades. Indeed, by the elegance of his conversation and the charms of his politeness, every man was gained, all hearts were touched. Even those that feared and envied him were not insensible to pleasure in his company ; and while they enjoyed it, their resentment was disarmed. Tissaphernes, in all other cases savage in his temper, and the bitterest enemy that Greece experienced among the Persians, gave himself up, notwithstanding, to the flatteries of Alcibiades, insomuch that he even vied with and exceeded him in address. For of all his gardens, that which excelled in beauty, which was remarkable for the salubrity of its streams and the freshness of its meadows, which was set off with pavilions royally adorned, and retirements finished in the most elegant taste, he distinguished by the name of *ALCIBIADES* : and every one continued to give it that appellation.

Rejecting, therefore, the interests of Lacedæmon, and fearing that people as treacherous to him, he represented them and their king Agis in a disadvantageous light to Tissaphernes. He advised him not to assist them effectually, nor absolutely to ruin the Athenians, but to send his subsidies to Sparta with a

sparing hand : that so the two powers might insensibly weaken and consume each other, and both at last be easily subjected to the king. Tissaphernes readily followed his counsels, and it was evident to all the world that he held him in the greatest admiration and esteem ; which made him equally considerable with the Greeks of both parties. The Athenians repented of the sentence they had passed upon him, because they had suffered for it since : and Alcibiades, on his side, was under some fear and concern, lest, if their republic were destroyed, he should fall into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, who hated him.

At that time, the whole strength of the Athenians lay at Samos. With their ships sent out from thence, they recovered some of the towns which had revolted, and others they kept to their duty : and at sea they were in some measure able to make head against their enemies. But they were afraid of Tissaphernes, and the Phœnician fleet of 150 ships, which were said to be coming against them ; for against such a force they could not hope to defend themselves. Alcibiades, apprised of this, privately sent a messenger to the principal Athenians at Samos, to give them hopes that he would procure them the friendship of Tissaphernes : not to recommend himself to the people, whom he could not trust ; but to oblige the nobility, if they would but exert their superiority, repress the insolence of the commonalty, and taking the government into their own hands, by that means save their country.

All the officers readily embraced his proposal, except Phrynichus, who was of the ward of *Dirades*. He alone suspected, what was really the case, that it was a matter of very little consequence to Alcibiades whether an oligarchy or democracy prevailed in Athens ; that it was his business to get himself recalled by any means whatever, and that therefore, by his invectives against the people, he wanted only to insinuate himself into the good graces of the nobility. Upon these reasons proceeded the opposition of Phrynichus : but seeing his opinion disregarded and that Alcibiades must certainly become his enemy, he gave secret intelligence to Astyochus, the enemy's admiral, of the double part which Alcibiades acted, advising him to beware of his designs, and to secure his person. But he knew not that while he was betraying, he was himself betrayed. For Astyochus wanting to make his court to Tissaphernes, informed Alcibiades of the affair, who, he knew, had the ear of that grandee.

Alcibiades immediately sent proper persons to Samos with

an accusation against Phrynichus; who seeing no other resource, as everybody was against him, and expressed great indignation at his behaviour, attempted to cure one evil with another and a greater. For he sent to Astyochus to complain of his revealing his secret, and to offer to deliver up to him the whole Athenian fleet and army. This treason of Phrynichus, however, did no injury to the Athenians, because it was again betrayed by Astyochus; for he laid the whole matter before Alcibiades. Phrynichus had the sagacity to foresee, and expect another accusation from Alcibiades, and to be beforehand with him, he himself forewarned the Athenians, that the enemy would endeavour to surprise them, and therefore desired them to be upon their guard, to keep on board their ships, and to fortify their camp.

While the Athenians were doing this, letters came from Alcibiades again, advising them to beware of Phrynichus, who had undertaken to betray their fleet to the enemy; but they gave no credit to these despatches, supposing that Alcibiades, who perfectly knew the preparations and intentions of the enemy, abused that knowledge to the raising of such a calumny against Phrynichus. Yet afterwards, when Phrynichus was stabbed in full assembly by one of Hermon's soldiers who kept guard that day, the Athenians taking cognizance of the matter, after his death, condemned Phrynichus as guilty of treason, and ordered Hermon and his party to be crowned for despatching a traitor.

The friends of Alcibiades, who now had a superior interest at Samos, sent Pysander to Athens, to change the form of government, by encouraging the nobility to assume it, and to deprive the people of their power and privileges, as the condition upon which Alcibiades would procure them the friendship and alliance of Tissaphernes. This was the colour of the pretence made use of by those who wanted to introduce an oligarchy. But when that body which were called *the five thousand*, but in fact were only *four hundred*,* had got the power into their hands, they paid but little attention to Alcibiades; and carried on the war

* It was at first proposed that only the dregs of the people should lose their authority, which was to be vested in five thousand of the most wealthy, who were for the future to be reputed the people. But when Pisander and his associates found the strength of their party, they carried it that the old form of government should be dissolved, and that five *Prytanes* should be elected; that these five should choose a hundred; that each of the hundred should choose three; that the four hundred thus elected should become a senate with supreme power, and should consult the five thousand only when and on such matters as they thought fit.

but slowly : partly distrusting the citizens who did not yet relish the new form of government, and partly hoping that the Lacedæmonians, who were always inclined to favour an oligarchy, would not press them with their usual vigour.

Such of the commonalty as were at home were silent through fear, though much against their will ; for a number of those who had openly opposed the *four hundred* were put to death. But, when they that were at Samos were informed of the affair, they were highly incensed at it, and inclined immediately to set sail for the Pyræus. In the first place, however, they sent for Alcibiades, and having appointed him their general, ordered him to lead them against the tyrants, and demolish both them and their power. On such an occasion, almost any other man, suddenly exalted by the favour of the multitude, would have thought he must have complied with all their humours, and not have contradicted those in anything who, from a fugitive and a banished man, had raised him to be commander-in-chief of such a fleet and army. But he behaved as became a great general, and prevented their plunging into error through the violence of their rage. This care of his evidently was the saving of the commonwealth. For if they had sailed home as they promised, the enemy would have seized on Ionia immediately, and have gained the Hellespont and the islands without striking a stroke ; while the Athenians would have been engaged in a civil war, of which Athens itself would have been the seat. All this was prevented chiefly by Alcibiades, who not only tried what arguments would do with the army in general, and informed them of their danger, but applied to them one by one, using entreaties to some and force to others ; in which he was assisted by the loud harangues of Thrasybulus, of the ward of Stira, who attended him through the whole, and had the strongest voice of any man among the Athenians.

Another great service performed by Alcibiades was, his undertaking that the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians expected from the King of Persia, should either join the Athenians, or at least not act on the enemy's side. In consequence of this promise, he set out as expeditiously as possible ; and prevailed upon Tissaphernes not to forward the ships, which were already come as far as Aspendus, but to disappoint and deceive the Lacedæmonians. Nevertheless, both sides, and particularly the Lacedæmonians, accused Alcibiades of hindering that fleet from coming to their aid ; for they supposed he had instructed the Persians to leave the Greeks to destroy each other. And, indeed, it was obvious enough, that such a

force added to either side would entirely have deprived the other of the dominion of the sea.

After this the *four hundred* were soon quashed, the friends of Alcibiades very readily assisting those who were for a democracy. And now the people in the city not only wished for him, but commanded him to return : * yet he thought it not best to return with empty hands, or without having affected something worthy of note, but instead of being indebted to the compassion and favour of the multitude, to distinguish his appearance by his merit. Parting, therefore, from Samos with a few ships, he cruised on the sea of Cnidus, and about the isle of Coos, where he got intelligence that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was sailed with his whole fleet towards the Hellespont, to find out the Athenians. This made him hasten to the assistance of the latter, and fortunately enough he arrived with his eighteen ships at the very juncture of time, when the two fleets having engaged near Abydos, continued the fight from morning until night, one side having the advantage in the right wing, and the other on the left.

On the appearance of his squadron, both sides entertained a false opinion of the end of his coming ; for the Spartans were encouraged and the Athenians struck with terror. But he soon hoisted the Athenian flag on the admiral galley, and bore down directly upon the Peloponnesians, who now had the advantage, and were urging the pursuit. His vigorous impression put them to flight, and following them close, he drove them ashore, destroying their ships, and killing such of their men as endeavoured to save themselves by swimming ; though Pharnabazus succoured them all he could from the shore, and with an armed force attempted to save their vessels. The conclusion was, that the Athenians, having taken thirty of the enemy's ships, and recovered their own, erected a trophy.

After this glorious success, Alcibiades, ambitious to show himself as soon as possible to Tissaphernes, prepared presents and other proper acknowledgments for his friendship and hospitality, and then went to wait upon him, with a princely train. But he was not welcomed in the manner he expected ; for Tissaphernes, who for some time had been accused by the Lacedæmonians, and was apprehensive that the charge might reach the king's ear, thought the coming of Alcibiades a very seasonable incident, and therefore put him under arrest and confined

* Thucydides does not speak of this arrival of Alcibiades, but probably he did not live to have a clear account of this action, for he died this year. Xenophon, who continued his history, mentions it.

him at Sardis, imagining that injurious proceeding would be a means to clear himself.

Thirty days after, Alcibiades having by some means or other obtained a horse, escaped from his keepers, and fled to Clazomenæ : and by way of revenge, he pretended that Tissaphernes privately set him at liberty. From thence he passed to the place where the Athenians were stationed ; and being informed that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together at Cyzicum, he showed the troops that it was necessary for them to fight both by sea and land, nay, even to fight with stone walls, if that should be required, in order to come at their enemies ; for, if the victory were not complete and universal, they could come at no money. Then he embarked the forces, and sailed to Proconesus, where he ordered them to take the lighter vessels into the middle of the fleet, and to have a particular care that the enemy might not discover that he was coming against them. A great and sudden rain which happened to fall at that time, together with dreadful thunder and darkness, was of great service in covering his operations. For not only the enemy were ignorant of his design, but the very Athenians, whom he had ordered in great haste on board, did not presently perceive that he was under sail. Soon after the weather cleared up, and the Peloponnesian ships were seen riding at anchor in the road of Cyzicum. Lest, therefore, the enemy should be alarmed at the largeness of his fleet, and save themselves by getting on shore, he directed many of the officers to slacken sail and keep out of sight, while he showed himself with forty ships only, and challenged the Lacedæmonians to the combat. The stratagem had its effect ; for despising the small number of galleys which they saw, they immediately weighed anchor and engaged ; but the rest of the Athenian ships coming up during the engagement, the Lacedæmonians were struck with terror and fled. Upon that Alcibiades, with twenty of his best ships, breaking through the midst of them, hastened to the shore, and having made a descent, pursued those that fled from the ships, and killed great numbers of them. He likewise defeated Mindarus and Pharnabazus, who came to their succour. Mindarus made a brave resistance and was slain, but Pharnabazus saved himself by flight.

The Athenians remained masters of the field and of the spoils, and took all the enemy's ships. Having also possessed themselves of Cyzicum, which was abandoned by Pharnabazus, and deprived of the assistance of the Peloponnesians, who were almost all cut off, they not only secured the Hellespont, but

entirely cleared the sea of the Lacedæmonians. The letter also was intercepted, which, in the laconic style, was to give the *Ephori* an account of their misfortune. "Our glory is faded. Mindarus is slain. Our soldiers are starving; and we know not what step to take."

On the other hand, Alcibiades's men were so elated, and took so much upon them, because they had always been victorious, that they would not vouchsafe even to mix with other troops that had been sometimes beaten. It happened not long before that Thrasyllus having miscarried in his attempt upon Ephesus, the Ephesians erected a trophy of brass in reproach of the Athenians.* The soldiers of Alcibiades, therefore, upbraided those of Thrasyllus with this affair, magnifying themselves and their general, and disdaining to join the others, either in the place of exercise or in the camp. But soon after, when Pharnabazus with a strong body of horse and foot attacked the forces of Thrasyllus who were ravaging the country about Abydos, Alcibiades marched to their assistance, routed the enemy, and, together with Thrasyllus, pursued them until night. Then he admitted Thrasyllus into his company, and with mutual civilities and satisfaction they returned to the camp. Next day he erected a trophy, and plundered the province which was under Pharnabazus, without the least opposition. The priest and priestess he made prisoners, among the rest, but soon dismissed them without ransom. From thence he intended to proceed and lay siege to Chalcedon, which had withdrawn its allegiance from the Athenians, and received a Lacedæmonian garrison and governor; but being informed that the Chalcedonians had collected their cattle and corn, and sent it all to the Bithynians, their friends, he led his army to the frontier of the Bithynians, and sent a herald before him to summon them to surrender it. They, dreading his resentment, gave up the booty, and entered into an alliance with him.

Afterwards he returned to the siege of Chalcedon, and enclosed it with a wall, which reached from sea to sea. Pharnabazus advanced to raise the siege, and Hippocrates, the governor, sallied out with his whole force to attack the Athenians. But Alcibiades drew up his army so as to engage them both at once, and he defeated them both; Pharnabazus betaking himself to flight, and Hippocrates being killed,

*Trophies before had been of wood, but the Ephesians erected this of brass, to perpetuate the infamy of the Athenians; and it was this new and mortifying circumstance with which Alcibiades's soldiers reproached those of Thrasyllus.

together with the greatest part of his troops. This done, he sailed into the Hellespont, to raise contributions in the towns upon the coast.

In this voyage he took Selybria : but in the action unnecessarily exposed himself to great danger. The persons who promised to surrender the town to him agreed to give him a signal at midnight with a lighted torch ; but they were obliged to do it before the time, for fear of some one that was in the secret, who suddenly altered his mind. The torch, therefore, being held up before the army was ready, Alcibiades took about thirty men with him, and ran to the walls, having ordered the rest to follow as fast as possible. The gate was opened to him, and twenty of the conspirators, lightly armed, joining his small company, he advanced with great spirit, but soon perceived the Selybrians, with their weapons in their hands, coming forward to attack him. As to stand and fight promised no sort of success, and he who to that hour had never been defeated did not choose to fly, he ordered a trumpet to command silence, and proclamation to be made, that *the Selybrians should not, under the pain of the Republic's high displeasure, take up arms against the Athenians*. Their inclination to the combat was then immediately damped, partly from a supposition that the whole Athenian army was within the walls, and partly from the hopes they conceived of coming to tolerable terms. Whilst they were talking together of this order, the Athenian army came up, and Alcibiades rightly conjecturing that the inclinations of the Selybrians were for peace, was afraid of giving the Thracians an opportunity to plunder the town. These last came down in great numbers to serve under him as volunteers, from a particular attachment to his person ; but on this occasion he sent them all out of the town ; and upon the submission of the Selybrians, he saved them from being pillaged, demanding only a sum of money, and leaving a garrison in the place.

Meantime, the other generals, who carried on the siege of Chalcedon, came to an agreement with Pharnabazus on these conditions—namely, that a sum of money should be paid them by Pharnabazus ; that the Chalcedonians should return to their allegiance to the republic of Athens ; and that no injury should be done to the province of which Pharnabazus was governor, who undertook that the Athenian ambassadors should be conducted safe to the king. Upon the return of Alcibiades, Pharnabazus desired that he too would swear to the performance of the articles, but Alcibiades insisted that Pharnabazus should swear first. When the treaty was reciprocally confirmed with

an oath, Alcibiades went against Byzantium, which had revolted, and drew a line of circumvallation about the city. While he was thus employed, Anaxilaus, Lycurgus, and some others, secretly promised to deliver up the place, on condition that he would keep it from being plundered. Hereupon, he caused it to be reported, that certain weighty and unexpected affairs called him back to Ionia, and in the daytime he set sail with his whole fleet ; but returning at night, he himself disembarked with the land forces, and posting them under the walls, he commanded them not to make the least noise. At the same time the ships made for the harbour, and the crews pressing in with loud shouts and great tumult, astonished the Byzantines, who expected no such matter. Thus an opportunity was given to those within the walls who favoured the Athenians to receive them in great security, while everybody's attention was engaged upon the harbour and the ships.

The affair passed not, however, without blows. For the Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Megarensians, who were at Byzantium, having driven the ships' crews back to their vessels, and perceiving that the Athenian land forces were got into the town, charged them too with great vigour. The dispute was sharp and the shock great, but victory declared for Alcibiades and Theramenes. The former of these generals commanded the right wing, and the latter the left. About three hundred of the enemy, who survived, were taken prisoners. Not one of the Byzantines, after the battle, was either put to death or banished ; for such were the terms on which the town was given up, that the citizens should be safe in their persons and their goods.

Hence it was, that when Anaxilaus was tried at Lacedæmon for treason, he made a defence which reflected no disgrace upon his past behaviour ; for he told them, that not being a Lacedæmonian, but a Byzantium ; and seeing not Lacedæmon but Byzantium in danger ; its communication with those that might have relieved it stopped ; and the Peloponnesians and Bœotians eating up the provisions that were left, while the Byzantines, with their wives and children, were starving ; he had not betrayed the town to an enemy, but delivered it from calamity and war : herein imitating the worthiest men among the Lacedæmonians, who had no other rule of justice and honour, but by all possible means to serve their country. The Lacedæmonians were so much pleased with this speech, that they acquitted him and all that were concerned with him.

Alcibiades, by this time, desirous to see his native country,

and still more desirous to be seen by his countrymen, after so many glorious victories, set sail with the Athenian fleet, adorned with many shields and other spoils of the enemy ; a great number of ships that he had taken making up the rear, and the flags of many more which he had destroyed being carried in triumph ; for all of them together were not fewer than two hundred. But as to what is added, by Duris the Samian, who boasts of his being descended from Alcibiades, that the oars kept time to the flute of Chrysogonus, who had been victorious in the Pythian games ; that Callipides the tragedian, attired in his buskins, magnificent robes, and other theatrical ornaments, gave orders to those who laboured at the oars ; and that the admiral galley entered the harbour with a purple sail ; as if the whole had been a company who had proceeded from a debauch to such a frolic ; these are particulars not mentioned either by Theopompus, Ephorus, or Xenophon. Nor is it probable that at his return from exile, and after such misfortunes as he had suffered, he would insult the Athenians in that manner. So far from it, that he approached the shore with some fear and caution ; nor did he venture to disembark until, as he stood upon the deck, he saw his cousin Euryptolemus, with many others of his friends and relations, coming to receive and invite him to land.

When he was landed, the multitude that came out to meet him did not vouchsafe so much as to look upon the other generals, but crowding up to him, hailed him with shouts of joy, conducted him on the way, and such as could approach him crowned him with garlands ; while those that could not come up so close viewed him at a distance, and the old men pointed him out to the young. Many tears were mixed with the public joy, and the memory of past misfortunes with the sense of their present success. For they concluded that they should not have miscarried in Sicily, or indeed have failed in any of their expectations, if they had left the direction of affairs, and the command of the forces, to Alcibiades ; since now, having exerted himself in behalf of Athens, when it had almost lost its dominion of the sea, was hardly able to defend its own suburbs, and was moreover harassed with intestine broils, he had raised it from that low and ruinous condition, so as not only to restore its maritime power, but to render it victorious everywhere by land.

The act for recalling him from banishment had been passed at the motion of Critias, the son of Callæschrus,* as appears from

* This Critias was uncle to Plato's mother, and the same that he introduces in his dialogues. Though now the friend of Alcibiades, yet as

his elegies, in which he puts Alcibiades in mind of his service—

“ If you no more in hapless exile mourn,
The praise is mine.”

The people presently meeting in full assembly, Alcibiades came in among them, and having in a pathetic manner bewailed his misfortunes, he very modestly complained of their treatment, ascribing all to his hard fortune, and the influence of some envious demon. He then proceeded to discourse of the hopes and designs of their enemies, against whom he used his utmost endeavours to animate them. And they were so much pleased with his harangue that they crowned him with crowns of gold, and gave him the absolute command of their forces both by sea and land. They likewise made a decree, that his estate should be restored to him, and that the Eumolpidæ and the heralds should take off the execrations which they had pronounced against him by order of the people. Whilst the rest were employed in expiations for this purpose, Theodorus the high priest said, for his part, he had never denounced any curse against him, if he had done no injury to the commonwealth.

Amidst this glory and prosperity of Alcibiades, some people were still uneasy, looking upon the time of his arrival as ominous. For on that very day was kept the *plynteria*,* or purifying of the goddess Minerva. It was the twenty-fifth of May when the praxiergidæ perform those ceremonies which are not to be revealed, disrobing the image and covering it up. Hence it is that the Athenians, of all days, reckon this the most unlucky, and take the most care not to do business upon it. And it seems that the goddess did not receive him graciously, but rather with aversion, since she hid her face from him. Notwithstanding all this, everything succeeded according to his wish; three hundred galleys were manned and ready to put to sea again: but a laudable zeal detained him until the celebration of the

the lust of power destroys all ties, when one of the thirty tyrants, he became his bitter enemy, and sending to Lysander, he assured him that Athens would never be quiet, or Sparta safe, until Alcibiades was destroyed. Critias was afterwards slain by Thrasybulus, when he delivered Athens from that tyranny.

* On that day when the statue of Minerva was washed, the temples were encompassed with a cord, to denote that they were shut up, as was customary on all inauspicious days. They carried dried figs in procession, because that was the first fruit which was eaten after acorns.

mysteries.* For after the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decelea, which commanded the roads to Eleusis, the feast was not kept with its usual pomp, because they were obliged to conduct the procession by sea ; the sacrifices, the sacred dances, and other ceremonies which had been performed on the way, called holy, while the image of Bacchus was carried in procession, being on that account necessarily omitted. Alcibiades, therefore, judged it would be an act conducive to the honour of the gods, and to his reputation with men, to restore those rites to their due solemnity, by conducting the procession with his army, and guarding it against the enemy. By that means, either king Agis would be humbled if he suffered it to pass unmolested ; or if he attacked the convoy, Alcibiades would have a fight to maintain in the cause of piety and religion, for the most venerable of its mysteries, in the sight of his country ; and all his fellow-citizens would be witnesses of his valour.

When he had determined upon this, and communicated his design to the *Eumolpidæ* and the heralds, he placed sentinels upon the eminences, and set out his advanced guard as soon as it was light. Next he took the priests, the persons initiated, and those who had the charge of initiating others, and covering them with his forces, led them on in great order and profound silence ; exhibiting in that march a spectacle so august and venerable, that those who did not envy him declared he had performed not only the office of a general, but of a high priest : not a man of the enemy dared to attack him, and he conducted the procession back in great safety ; which both exalted him in his own thoughts, and gave the soldiery such an opinion of him, that they considered themselves as invincible while under his command. And he gained such an influence over the mean and indigent part of the people, that they were passionately desirous to see him invested with absolute power ; insomuch that some of them applied to him in person and exhorted him, in order to quash the malignity of envy at once, to abolish the privileges of the people, and the laws, and to quell those busy spirits who would otherwise be the ruin of the state ; for then he might direct affairs and proceed to action, without fear of groundless impeachments.

What opinion he himself had of this proposal we know not ; but this is certain, that the principal citizens were so apprehensive of his aiming at arbitrary power, that they got him to

* The festival of Ceres and Proserpine continued nine days. On the sixth they carried in procession to Eleusis the statue of Bacchus, whom they supposed to be the son of Jupiter and Ceres.

embark as soon as possible ; and the more to expedite the matter, they ordered, among other things, that he should have the choice of his colleagues. Putting to sea, therefore, with a fleet of one hundred ships, he sailed to the isle of Andros, where he fought and defeated the Andrians, and such of the Lacedæmonians as assisted him. But yet he did not attack the city, which gave his enemies the first occasion for the charge which they afterwards brought against him. Indeed, if ever man was ruined by a high distinction of character, it was Alcibiades.* For his continual successes had procured such an opinion of his courage and capacity, that when afterwards he happened to fail in what he undertook, it was suspected to be from want of inclination, and no one would believe it was from want of ability ; they thought nothing too hard for him, when he pleased to exert himself. They hoped also to hear that Chios was taken, and all Ionia reduced, and grew impatient when everything was not despatched as suddenly as they desired. They never considered the smallness of his supplies, and that having to carry on the war against people who were furnished out of the treasury of a great king, he was often laid under the necessity of leaving his camp, to go in search of money and provisions for his men.

This it was that gave rise to the last accusation against him. Lysander the Lacedæmonian admiral, out of the money he received from Cyrus, raised the wages of each mariner from three *oboli* a day to four, whereas it was with difficulty that Alcibiades paid his men three. The latter, therefore, went into Caria to raise money, leaving the fleet in charge with Antiochus,† who was an experienced seaman, but rash and inconsiderate. Though he had express orders from Alcibiades to let no provocation from the enemy bring him to hazard an engagement, yet in his contempt of those orders, having taken some troops on board his own galley and one more, he stood for Ephesus, where the enemy lay, and as he sailed by the heads of their ships, insulted them in the most insufferable manner both by words and actions. Lysander sent out a few ships to pursue him ; but as the whole Athenian fleet came up to assist

* It was not altogether the universality of his success that rendered Alcibiades suspected, when he came short of public expectation. The duplicity of his character is obvious from the whole account of his life. He paid not the least regard to veracity in political matters ; and it is not to be wondered if such principles made him continually obnoxious to the suspicion of the people.

† This was he who caught the quail for him.

Antiochus, he drew out the rest of his and gave battle, and gained a complete victory. He slew Antiochus himself, took many ships and men, and erected a trophy. Upon this disagreeable news, Alcibiades returned to Samos, from whence he moved with the whole fleet, to offer Lysander battle. But Lysander, content with the advantage he had gained, did not think proper to accept it.

Among the enemies which Alcibiades had in the army, Thrasybulus, the son of Thrason, being the most determined, quitted the camp, and went to Athens to impeach him. To incense the people against him, he declared in full assembly, that Alcibiades had been the ruin of their affairs, and the means of losing their ships, by his insolent and imprudent behaviour in command, and by leaving the direction of everything to persons who had got into credit with him through the great merit of drinking deep and cracking seamen's jokes; whilst he was securely traversing the provinces to raise money, indulging his love of liquor, or abandoning himself to his pleasures with the courtesans of Ionia and Abydos: and this at a time when the enemy was stationed at a small distance from his fleet. It was also objected to him, that he had built a castle in Thrace near the city of Bisanthe, to be made use of as a retreat for himself, as if he either could not or would not live any longer in his own country. The Athenians giving ear to these accusations, to show their resentment and dislike to him, appointed new commanders of their forces.

Alcibiades was no sooner informed of it, than, consulting his own safety, he entirely quitted the Athenian army. And having collected a band of strangers, he made war on his own account against those Thracians who acknowledge no king. The booty he made raised him great sums; and at the same time he defended the Grecian frontier against the barbarians.

Tydeus, Menander, and Adimantus, the new-made generals, being now at Ægos Potamos, with all the ships which the Athenians had left, used to stand out early every morning and offer battle to Lysander, whose station was at Lampascus, and then to return and pass the day in a disorderly and careless manner, as if they despised their adversary. This seemed to

* Plutarch passes over almost three years: namely, the twenty-fifth of the Peloponnesian war; the twenty-sixth, in which the Athenians obtained the victory at Arginusæ, and put six of the ten generals to death, upon a slight accusation of their colleague Theramenes; and almost the whole twenty-seventh, towards the end of which the Athenians sailed to Ægos Potamos, where they received the blow that is spoken of in this place.

Alcibiades, who was in the neighbourhood, a matter not to be passed over without notice. He therefore went and told the generals,* he thought their station by no means safe in a place where there was neither town nor harbour ; that it was very inconvenient to have their provisions and stores from so distant a place as Sestos ; and extremely dangerous to let their seamen go ashore, and wander about at their pleasure ; whilst a fleet was observing them, which was under the orders of one man, and the strictest discipline imaginable. He, therefore, advised them to remove their station to Sestos.

The generals, however, gave no attention to what he said ; and Tydeus was so insolent as even to bid him begone, for that they, not he, were now to give orders. Alcibiades, suspecting that there was some treachery in the case, retired, telling his acquaintance, who conducted him out of the camp, that if he had not been insulted in such an insupportable manner by the generals, he would in a few days have obliged the Lacedæmonians, however unwilling, either to come to an action at sea, or else to quit their ships. This to some appeared a vain boast ; to others it seemed not at all improbable, since he might have brought down a number of Thracian archers and cavalry, to attack and harass the Lacedæmonian camp.†

The event soon showed that he judged right of the errors which the Athenians had committed. For Lysander falling upon them, when they least expected it, eight galleys only escaped,‡ along with Conon ; the rest, not much short of 200, were taken and carried away, together with 3000 prisoners, who were afterwards put to death. And within a short time after Lysander took Athens itself, burned the shipping, and demolished the long walls.

Alcibiades, alarmed at this success of the Lacedæmonians, who were now masters both at sea and land, retired into Bithynia. Thither he ordered much treasure to be sent, and took large sums with him, but still left more behind in the castle where he had resided. In Bithynia he once more lost great part of his substance, being stripped by the Thracians there ; which determined him to go to Artaxerxes, and entreat

* The officers at the head of the Grecian armies and navy, we sometimes call generals, sometimes admirals, because they commonly commanded both by sea and land.

† When a fleet remained some time at one particular station, there was generally a body of land forces, and part of the mariners too, encamped upon the shore.

‡ There was a ninth ship called *Paralus*, which escaped, and carried the news of their defeat to Athens. Conon himself retired to Cyprus.

his protection. He imagined that the king, upon trial, would find him no less serviceable than Themistocles had been, and he had a better pretence to his patronage ; for he was not going to solicit the king's aid against his countrymen, as Themistocles had done, but for his country against its worst enemies. He concluded that Pharnabazus was most likely to procure him a safe-conduct, and therefore went to him in Phrygia, where he stayed some time, making his court, and receiving marks of respect.

It was a grief to the Athenians to be deprived of their power and dominion, but when Lysander robbed them also of their liberty, and put their city under the authority of thirty chiefs, they were still more miserably afflicted. Now their affairs were ruined, they perceived with regret the measures which would have saved them, and which they had neglected to make use of ; now they acknowledged their blindness and errors, and looked upon their second quarrel with Alcibiades as the greatest of those errors. They had cast him off without any offence of his : their anger had been grounded upon the ill conduct of his lieutenant in losing a few ships, and their own conduct had been still worse, in depriving the commonwealth of the most excellent and valiant of all its generals. Yet amidst their present misery there was one slight glimpse of hope, that while Alcibiades survived, Athens could not be utterly undone. For he, who before was not content to lead an inactive, though peaceable life, in exile, would not now, if his own affairs were upon any tolerable footing, sit still and see the insolence of the Lacedæmonians, and the madness of the thirty tyrants, without endeavouring at some remedy. Nor was it at all unnatural for the multitude to dream of such relief, since those thirty chiefs themselves were so solicitous to inquire after Alcibiades, and gave so much attention to what he was doing and contriving.

At last Critias represented to Lysander, that the Lacedæmonians could never securely enjoy the empire of Greece till the Athenian democracy were absolutely destroyed. And though the Athenians seemed at present to bear an oligarchy with some patience, yet Alcibiades, if he lived, would not suffer them long to submit to such a kind of government. Lysander, however, could not be prevailed upon by these arguments, until he received private orders from the magistrates of Sparta,* to get Alcibiades despatched ; whether it was that they dreaded his great capacity, and enterprising spirit, or whether it was

* The *Scytala* was sent to him.

done in complaisance to king Agis. Lysander then sent to Pharnabazus to desire him to put this order in execution ; and he appointed his brother Magacus, and his uncle Susamithres, to manage the affair.

Alcibiades at that time resided in a small village in Phrygia, having his mistress Timandra with him. One night he dreamed that he was attired in his mistress's habit,* and that as she held him in her arms, she dressed his head, and painted his face like a woman's. Others say he dreamed that Magacus cut off his head and burned his body ; and we are told, that it was but a little before his death that he had this vision. Be that as it may, those that were sent to assassinate him, not daring to enter his house, surrounded it, and set it on fire. As soon as he perceived it, he got together large quantities of clothes and hangings, and threw them upon the fire to choke it ; then having wrapped his robe about his left hand, and taking his sword in his right, he sallied through the fire, and got safe out before the stuff which he had thrown upon it could catch the flame. At sight of him the barbarians dispersed, not one of them daring to wait for him, or to encounter him hand to hand ; but standing at a distance, they pierced him with their darts and arrows. Thus fell Alcibiades. The barbarians retiring after he was slain, Timandra wrapped the body in her own robes,† and buried it as decently and honourably as her circumstances would allow.

Timandra is said to have been mother to the famous Lais, commonly called the Corinthian, though Lais was brought a captive from Hyccaræ, a little town in Sicily.

Some writers, though they agree as to the manner of Alcibiades's death, yet differ about the cause. They tell us that catastrophe is not to be imputed to Pharnabazus, or Lysander, or the Lacedæmonians ; but that Alcibiades having corrupted a young woman of a noble family in that country, and keeping her in his house, her brothers, incensed at the injury, set fire in the night to the house in which he lived, and upon his breaking through the flames, killed him in the manner we have related.‡

* Alcibiades had dreamed that Timandra attired him in her own habit.

† She buried him in a town called Melissa ; and we learn from Athenæus (in Deipnosoph.) that the monument remained to his time, for he himself saw it. The emperor Adrian, in memory of so great a man, caused his statue of Persian marble to be set up thereon, and ordered a bull to be sacrificed to him annually.

‡ Ephorus the historian, as he is cited by Diodorus Siculus (lib. xiv.) gives an account of his death, quite different from those recited by Plutarch.

CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS.

THE family of the Marcii afforded Rome many illustrious patricians. Of this house was Ancus Marcius, who was grandson to Muma by his daughter; as were also Publius and Quintus Marcius, who supplied Rome with plenty of the best water. Censorinus, too, who was twice appointed *Censor* by the people of Rome, and who procured a law that no man should ever bear that office twice afterwards, had the same pedigree.

Caius Marcius, of whom I now write, was brought up by his mother in her widowhood; and from him it appeared, that the loss of a father, though attended with other disadvantages, is no hindrance to a man's improving in virtue and attaining to a distinguished excellence; though bad men sometimes allege it as an excuse for their corrupt lives. On the other hand, the same Marcius became witness to the truth of that maxim, that if a generous and noble nature be not thoroughly formed by discipline, it will shoot forth many bad qualities along with the good, as the richest soil, if not cultivated, produces the rankest weeds. His undaunted courage and firmness of mind excited him to many great actions, and carried him through them with honour. But, at the same time, the violence of his passions, his spirit of contention and excessive obstinacy, rendered him untractable and disagreeable in conversation. So that those very persons who saw with admiration his soul unshaken with pleasures, toils, and riches, and allowed him to be possessed of the virtues of temperance, justice, and fortitude, yet in the councils and affairs of state could not endure his imperious temper, and that savage manner, which was too haughty for a republic. Indeed, there is no other advantage to be had from a liberal education, equal to that of polishing and softening our nature by reason and discipline; for that produces an evenness of behaviour, and banishes from our manners all extremes. There is this, however, to be said, that in those

He says, that Alcibiades having discovered the design of Cyrus the younger to take up arms, informed Pharnabazus of it, and desired that he might carry the news to the king; but Pharnabazus envying him that honour, sent a confidant of his own, and took all the merit to himself. Alcibiades suspecting the matter, went to Paphlagonia, and sought to procure from the governor letters of credence to the king; which Pharnabazus understanding, hired people to murder him. He was slain in the fortieth year of his age.

times military abilities were deemed by the Romans the highest excellence, insomuch that the term which they use for virtue in general, was applied by them to valour in particular.

Marcus, for his part, had a more than ordinary inclination for war, and therefore from a child began to handle his weapons. As he thought that artificial arms avail but little, unless those with which nature has supplied us be well improved and kept ready for use, he so prepared himself by exercise for every kind of combat, that while his limbs were active and nimble enough for pursuing, such was his force and weight in wrestling and in grappling with the enemy, that none could easily get clear of him. Those therefore that had any contest with him for the prize of courage and valour, though they failed of success, flattered themselves with imputing it to his invincible strength, which nothing could resist or fatigue.

He made his first campaign when he was very young,* when Tarquin, who had reigned in Rome, was driven from the throne, and after many battles, fought with bad success, was now venturing all upon the last throw. Most of the people of Latium, and many other states of Italy, were now assisting and marching towards Rome, to re-establish him, not through any regard they had for Tarquin, but for fear and envy of the Romans, whose growing greatness they were desirous to check. A battle ensued, with various turns of fortune. Marcus distinguished himself that day in sight of the dictator; for seeing a Roman pushed down at a small distance from him, he hastened to his help, and standing before him, he engaged his adversary and slew him. When the dispute was decided in favour of the Romans, the general presented Marcus, among the first, with an oaken crown.† This is the reward which their custom assigns to the man who saves the life of a citizen; either because they honoured the oak for the sake of the Arcadians, whom the oracle called *acorn eaters*; or because an oaken branch is most easy to be had, be the scene of action where it will; or because they think it most suitable to take a crown for him who is the means of saving a citizen, from the tree which is sacred to Jupiter, the

* In 493 B.C.

† The civic crown was the foundation of many privileges. He who had once obtained it, had a right to wear it always. When he appeared at the public spectacles, the senators rose up to do him honour. He was placed near their bench; and his father, and grandfather by the father's side, were entitled to the same privileges. Here was an encouragement to merit, which cost the public nothing, and yet was productive of many great effects.

protector of cities. Besides, the oak bears more and fairer fruit than any tree that grows wild, and is the strongest of those that are cultivated in plantations. It afforded the first ages both food and drink by its acorns and honey ; and supplied men with birds and other creatures for dainties, as it produced the mistletoe, of which birdlime is made.*

Castor and Pollux are said to have appeared in that battle, and, with their horses dropping sweat, to have been seen soon after in the *forum* announcing the victory near the fountain, where the temple now stands. Hence also it is said, that the fifteenth of July,† being the day on which that victory was gained, is consecrated to those sons of Jupiter.

It generally happens, that when men of small ambition are very early distinguished by the voice of fame, their thirst of honour is soon quenched and their desires satiated ; whereas deep and solid minds are improved and brightened by marks of distinction, which serve, as a brisk gale, to drive them forward in the pursuit of glory. They do not so much think that they have received a reward, as that they have given a pledge, which would make them blush to fall short of the expectations of the public, and therefore they endeavour by their actions to exceed them. Marcius had a soul of this frame. He was always endeavouring to excel himself, and meditating some exploit which might set him in a new light, adding achievement to achievement, and spoils to spoils ; therefore, the latter generals under whom he served were always striving to outdo the former in the honours they paid him, and in the tokens of their esteem. The Romans at that time were engaged in several wars, and fought many battles, and there was not one that Marcius returned from without some honorary crown, some ennobling distinction. The end which others proposed in their acts of valour was glory : but he pursued glory because the acquisition of it delighted his mother. For when she was witness to the applauses he received, when she saw him crowned, when she embraced him with tears of joy, then it was that he reckoned himself at the height of honour and felicity. Epaminondas (they tell us) had the same sentiments, and declared it the chief happiness of his life, that his father

* It does not anywhere appear that the ancients made use of the oak in ship-building : how much nobler an encomium might an English historian afford that tree than Plutarch has been able to give it !

† By the great disorder of the Roman calendar, the fifteenth of July then fell upon the twenty-fourth of our October.

and mother lived to see the generalship he exerted and the victory he won at Leuctra. *He* had the satisfaction, indeed, to see both his parents rejoice in his success, and partake of his good fortune ; but only the mother of Marcius, Volumnia, was living, and therefore holding himself obliged to pay her all that duty which would have belonged to his father, over and above what was due to herself, he thought he could never sufficiently express his tenderness and respect. He even married in compliance with her desire and request, and after his wife had borne him children, still lived in the same house with his mother.

At the time when the reputation and interest which his virtue had procured him in Rome was very great, the senate, taking the part of the richer sort of citizens, were at variance with the common people, who were used by their creditors with intolerable cruelty. Those that had something considerable were stripped of their goods, which were either detained for security or sold ; and those that had nothing were dragged into prison, and there bound with fetters, though their bodies were full of wounds, and worn out with fighting for their country. The last expedition they were engaged in was against the Sabines, on which occasion their rich creditors promised to treat them with more lenity, and in pursuance of a decree of the senate, M. Valerius the consul was guarantee of that promise. But when they had cheerfully undergone the fatigues of that war, and were returned victorious, and yet found that the usurers made them no abatement, and that the senate pretended to remember nothing of that agreement, but without any sort of concern saw them dragged to prison, and their goods seized upon as formerly, then they filled the city with tumult and sedition.

The enemy, apprised of these intestine broils, invaded the Roman territories, and laid them waste with fire and sword. And when the consuls called upon such as were able to bear arms to give in their names, not a man took any notice of it. Something was then to be done ; but the magistrates differed in their opinions. Some thought the poor should have a little indulgence, and that the extreme rigour of the law ought to be softened. Others declared absolutely against that proposal, and particularly Marcius. Not that he thought the money a matter of great consequence, but he considered this specimen of the people's insolence as an attempt to subvert the laws, and the forerunner of further disorders, which it became a wise government timely to restrain and suppress.

The senate assembled several times within the space of a few

days, and debated this point ; but as they came to no conclusion, on a sudden the commonalty rose one and all, and encouraging each other, they left the city, and withdrew to the hill now called *Sacred*, near the river Anio, but without committing any violence or other act of sedition. Only as they went along, they loudly complained that it was now a great while since the rich had driven them from their habitations ; that Italy would anywhere supply them with air and water, and a place of burial ; and that Rome, if they stayed in it, would afford them no other privilege, unless it were such, to bleed and die in fighting for their wealthy oppressors.

The senate was then alarmed, and from the oldest men of their body selected the most moderate and popular to treat with the people. At the head of them was Menenius Agrippa, who, after much entreaty addressed to them, and many arguments in defence of the senate, concluded his discourse with the celebrated fable : “ The members of the human body once mutinied against the belly, and accused it of lying idle and useless, while they were all labouring and toiling to satisfy its appetites ; but the belly only laughed at their simplicity, who knew not that though it received all the nourishment into itself, it prepared and distributed it again to all parts of the body. Just so, my fellow-citizens,” said he, “ stands the case between the senate and you. For their necessary counsels, and acts of government, are productive of advantage to you all, and distribute their salutary influence amongst the whole people.”

After this they were reconciled to the senate, having demanded and obtained the privilege of appointing five men,* to defend their rights on all occasions. These are called tribunes of the people. The first that were elected were Junius Brutus,† and Sicinius Vellutus, the leaders of the secession. When the breach was thus made up, the plebeians soon came to be enrolled as

* The tribunes were at first five in number ; but a few years after five more were added. Before the people left the *Mons Sacer*, they passed a law, by which the persons of the tribunes were made sacred. Their sole function was to interpose in all grievances offered the plebeians by their superiors. This interposing was called *intercessio*, and was performed by standing up and pronouncing the single word *Veto*, I forbid it. They had their seats placed at the door of the senate, and were never admitted into it, but when the consuls called them to ask their opinion upon some affair that concerned the interests of the people.

† The name of this tribune was Lucius Junius, and because Lucius Junius Brutus was famed for delivering his country from the tyrannic yoke of the kings, he also assumed the surname of Brutus, which exposed him to a great deal of ridicule.

soldiers, and readily obeyed the orders of the consuls relative to the war. As for Marcius, though he was far from being pleased at the advantages which the people had gained, as it was a lessening of the authority of the patricians, and though he found a considerable part of the nobility of his opinion, yet he exhorted them not to be backward wherever the interest of their country was concerned, but to show themselves superior to the commonalty rather in virtue than in power.

Corioli was the capital of the country of the Volscians, with whom the Romans were at war. And as it was besieged by the consul Cominius, the rest of the Volscians were much alarmed ; and assembled to succour it, intending to give the Romans battle under the walls, and to attack them on both sides. But after Cominius had divided his forces, and with part went to meet the Volscians without, who were marching against him, leaving Titus Lartius, an illustrious Roman, with the other part, to carry on the siege, the inhabitants of Corioli despised the body that were left, and sallied out to fight them. The Romans at first were obliged to give ground, and were driven to their entrenchments. But Marcius with a small party flew to their assistance, killed the foremost of the enemy, and stopping the rest in their career, with a loud voice called the Romans back. For he was (what Cato wanted a soldier to be) not only dreadful for the thunder of his arm, but of voice too, and had an aspect which struck his adversaries with terror and dismay. Many Romans then crowding about him, and being ready to second him, the enemy retired in confusion. Nor was he satisfied with making them retire ; he pressed hard upon their rear, and pursued them quite up to the gates. There he perceived that his men discontinued the pursuit by reason of the shower of arrows which fell from the walls, and that none of them had any thoughts of rushing along with the fugitives into the city, which was filled with warlike people, who were all under arms : nevertheless, he exhorted and encouraged them to press forward, crying out, that fortune had opened the gates rather to the victors than to the vanquished. But as few were willing to follow him, he broke through the enemy, and pushed into the town with the crowd, no one at first daring to oppose him, or even to look him in the face. But when he cast his eyes around, and saw so small a number within the walls, whose service he could make use of in that dangerous enterprise, and that friends and foes were mixed together, he summoned all his force, and performed the most incredible exploits, whether you consider his heroic strength, his amazing agility, or his bold and daring

spirit ; for he overpowered all that were in his way, forcing some to seek refuge in the farthest corners of the town, and others to give out and throw down their arms ; which afforded Lartius an opportunity to bring in the rest of the Romans unmolested.

The city thus taken, most of the soldiers fell to plundering, which Marcius highly resented ; crying out, that it was a shame for them to run about after plunder, or, under pretence of collecting the spoils, to get out of the way of danger, while the consul and the Romans under his command were, perhaps, engaged with the enemy. As there were not many that listened to what he said, he put himself at the head of such as offered to follow him, and took the route which he knew would lead him to the consul's army ; sometimes pressing his small party to hasten their march, and conjuring them not to suffer their ardour to cool, and sometimes begging of the gods that the battle might not be over before he arrived, but that he might have his share in the glorious toils and dangers of his countrymen.

It was customary with the Romans of that age, when they were drawn up in order of battle, and ready to take up their shields and gird their garments about them, to make a nuncupative will, naming each his heir, in the presence of three or four witnesses. While the soldiers were thus employed, and the enemy in sight, Marcius came up. Some were startled at his first appearance, covered as he was with blood and sweat. But when he ran cheerfully up to the consul, took him by the hand, and told him that Corioli was taken, the consul clasped him to his heart : and those who heard the news of that success, and those who did but guess at it, were greatly animated, and with shouts demanded to be led on to the combat. Marcius inquired of Cominius in what manner the enemy's army was drawn up, and where their best troops were posted. Being answered that the Antiates who were placed in the centre were supposed to be the bravest and most warlike, "I beg it of you, then," said Marcius, "as a favour, that you will place me directly opposite to them." And the consul, admiring his spirit, readily granted his request.

When the battle was begun with the throwing of spears, Marcius advanced before the rest, and charged the centre of the Volscians with so much fury, that it was soon broken. Nevertheless, the wings attempted to surround him ; and the consul, alarmed for him, sent to his assistance a select band which he had near his own person. A sharp conflict then ensued about Marcius, and a great carnage was quickly made ; but the

Romans pressed the enemy with so much vigour that they put them to flight. And when they were going upon the pursuit, they begged of Marcius, now almost weighed down with wounds and fatigue, to retire to the camp. But he answered, that it was not for conquerors to be tired, and so joined him in prosecuting the victory. The whole army of the Volscians was defeated, great numbers killed, and many made prisoners.

Next day Marcius waiting upon the consul, and the army being assembled, Cominius mounted the rostrum ; and having in the first place returned due thanks to the gods for such extraordinary success, addressed himself to Marcius. He began with a detail of his gallant actions, of which he had himself been partly an eye-witness, and which had partly been related to him by Lartius. Then out of the great quantity of treasure, the many horses and prisoners they had taken, he ordered him to take a tenth, before any distribution was made to the rest, beside making him a present of a fine horse with noble trappings, as a reward for his valour.

The army received this speech with great applause ; and Marcius, stepping forward, said, that he accepted of the horse, and was happy in the consul's approbation ; but as for the rest, he considered it rather as a pecuniary reward than as a mark of honour, and therefore desired to be excused, being satisfied with his single share of the booty. "One favour only in particular," continued he, "I desire, and beg I may be indulged in. I have a friend among the Volscians, bound with me in the sacred rites of hospitality, and a man of virtue and honour. He is now among the prisoners, and from easy and opulent circumstances reduced to servitude. Of the many misfortunes under which he labours, I should be glad to rescue him from one, which is that of being sold as a slave."

These words of Marcius were followed with still louder acclamations ; his conquering the temptations of money being more admired than the valour he had exerted in battle. For even those who before regarded his superior honours with envy and jealousy, now thought him worthy of great things because he had greatly declined them, and were more struck with that virtue which led him to despise such extraordinary advantages, than with the merit which claimed them. Indeed, the right use of riches is more commendable than that of arms ; and not to desire them at all, more glorious than to use them well.

When the acclamations were over, and the multitude silent again, Cominius subjoined, "You cannot, indeed, my fellow-soldiers, force these gifts of yours upon a person so firmly

resolved to refuse them ; let us then give him what it is not in his power to decline, let us pass a vote that he be called *Coriolanus*, if his gallant behaviour at Corioli has not already bestowed that name upon him." Hence came his third name of *Coriolanus*. by which it appears that Caius was the proper name ; that the second name, *Marcus*, was that of the family ; and that the third Roman appellation was a peculiar note of distinction, given afterwards on account of some particular act of fortune, or signature, or virtue of him that bore it. Thus among the Greeks additional names were given to some on account of their achievements, as *Soter*, the preserver, and *Callinicus*, the victorious ; to others, for something remarkable in their persons, as *Physcon*, the gore-bellied, and *Gripus*, the eagle-nosed ; or for their good qualities, as *Euergetes*, the benefactor, and *Philadelphus*, the kind brother ; or their good fortune, as *Eudæmon*, the prosperous, a name given to the second prince of the family of the Batti. Several princes also have had satirical names bestowed upon them : *Antigonus* (for instance) was called *Doson*, the man that will give to-morrow, and *Ptolemy* was styled *Lamyras*, the buffoon. But appellations of this last sort were used with greater latitude among the Romans. One of the *Metelli* was distinguished by the name of *Diadematus*, because he went a long time with a bandage, which covered an ulcer he had in his forehead : and another they called *Celer*, because with surprising celerity he entertained them with a funeral show of gladiators, a few days after his father's death. In our times, too, some of the Romans receive their names from the circumstances of their birth ; as that of *Proculus*, if born when their fathers are in a distant country ; and that of *Posthumus*, if born after their father's death ; and when twins come into the world, and one of them dies at the birth, the survivor is called *Vopiscus*. Names are also appropriated on account of bodily imperfections ; for amongst them we find not only *Sylla*, the red, and *Niger*, the black ; but even *Cacus*, the blind, and *Claudius*, the lame ; such persons by this custom being wisely taught, not to consider blindness or any other bodily misfortune as a reproach or disgrace, but to answer to appellations of that kind as their proper names. But this point might have been insisted upon with greater propriety in another place.

When the war was over, the demagogues stirred up another sedition. And as there was no new cause of disquiet or injury done the people, they made use of the mischiefs which were the necessary consequence of the former troubles and dissensions, as a handle against the patricians. For the greatest part

of the ground being left uncultivated and unsown, and the war not permitting them to bring in bread corn from other countries, there was an extreme scarcity in Rome.* The factious orators then seeing that corn was not brought to market, and that if the market could be supplied the commonalty had but little money to buy with, slanderously asserted, that the rich had caused the famine out of a spirit of revenge.

At this juncture there arrived ambassadors from the people of Velitræ, who offered to surrender their city to the Romans, and desired to have a number of new inhabitants to replenish it; a pestilential distemper having committed such ravages there, that scarce the tenth part of the inhabitants remained. The sensible part of the Romans thought this pressing necessity of Velitræ a seasonable and advantageous thing for Rome, as it would lessen the scarcity of provisions. They hoped, moreover, that the sedition would subside, if the city were purged of the troublesome part of the people, who most readily took fire at the harangues of their orators, and who were as dangerous to the state as so many superfluous and morbid humours are to the body. Such as these, therefore, the consuls singled out for the colony, and pitched upon others to serve in the war against the Volscians, contriving it so that employment abroad might still the intestine tumults, and believing that when rich and poor, plebeians and patricians, came to bear arms together again, to be in the same camp, and to meet the same dangers, they would be disposed to treat each other with more gentleness and candour.

But the restless tribunes, Sicinius and Brutus, opposed both these designs, crying out, that the consuls disguised a most inhuman act under the plausible term of a colony; for inhuman it certainly was, to throw the poor citizens into a devouring gulf, by sending them to a place where the air was infected, and where noisome carcases lay above ground, where also they would be at the disposal of a strange and cruel deity. And as if it were not sufficient to destroy some by famine, and to expose others to the plague, they involved them also into a needless war, that no kind of calamity might be wanting to complete the ruin of the city, because it refused to continue in slavery to the rich.

The people, irritated by these speeches, neither obeyed the summons to be enlisted for the war, nor could be brought to

* The people withdrew to the sacred mount soon after the autumnal equinox, and the reconciliation with the patricians did not take place until the winter solstice, so that the seed-time was lost. And the Roman factors, who were sent to buy corn in other countries, were very unsuccessful.

approve the order to go and people Velitræ. While the senate were in doubt what step they should take, Marcius, now not a little elated by the honours he had received, by the sense of his own great abilities, and by the deference that was paid him by the principal persons in the state, stood foremost in opposition to the tribunes. The colony, therefore, was sent out, heavy fines being set upon such as refused to go. But as they declared absolutely against serving in the war, Marcius mustered up his own clients, and as many volunteers as he could procure, and with these made an inroad into the territories of the *Antiates*. There he found plenty of corn, and a great number of cattle and slaves, no part of which he reserved to himself, but led his troops back to Rome, loaded with the rich booty. The rest of the citizens then repenting of their obstinacy, and envying those who had got such a quantity of provisions, looked upon Marcius with an evil eye, not being able to endure the increase of his power and honour, which they considered as rising on the ruins of the people.

Soon after, Marcius stood for the consulship ; on which occasion the commonalty began to relent, being sensible what a shame it would be to reject and affront a man of his family and virtue, and that too after he had done so many signal services to the public. It was the custom for those who were candidates for such a high office to solicit and caress the people in the *forum*, and, at those times, to be clad in a loose gown without the *tunic* ; whether that humble dress was thought more suitable for suppliants, or whether it was for the convenience of showing their wounds, as so many tokens of valour. For it was not from any suspicion the citizens then had of bribery that they required the candidates to appear before them ungirt and without any close garment, when they came to beg their votes ; since it was much later than this, and indeed many ages after, that buying and selling stole in, and money came to be a means of gaining an election. Then corruption reaching also the tribunals and the camps, arms were subdued by money, and the commonwealth was changed into a monarchy. It was a shrewd saying, whoever said it, that the man who first ruined the Roman people was he who first gave them treats and gratuities. But this mischief crept secretly and gradually in, and did not show its face in Rome for a considerable time. For we know not who it was that first bribed its citizens or its judges ; but it is said, that in Athens, the first man who corrupted a tribunal was Anytas, the son of Anthymion, when he was tried for treason in delivering up the fort of Pylos, at the latter end of the

Peloponnesian war; a time when the golden age reigned in the Roman courts in all its simplicity.

When, therefore, Marcius showed the wounds and scars he had received in the many glorious battles he had fought for seventeen years successively, the people were struck with reverence for his virtue, and agreed to choose him consul. But when the day of election came, and he was conducted with great pomp into the *Campus Martius* by the senate in a body, all the patricians acting with more zeal and vigour than ever had been known on the like occasion; the commons then altered their minds, and their kindness was turned into envy and indignation. The malignity of these passions was farther assisted by the fear they entertained, that if a man so strongly attached to the interests of the senate, and so much respected by the nobility, should attain the consulship, he might utterly deprive the people of their liberty. Influenced by these considerations, they rejected Marcius, and appointed others to that office. The senate took this extremely ill, considering it as an affront rather intended against them than against Marcius. As for Marcius, he resented that treatment highly, indulging his irascible passions upon a supposition that they have something great and exalted in them; and wanting a due mixture of gravity and mildness, which are the chief political virtues, and the fruits of reason and education. He did not consider that the man who applies himself to public business, and undertakes to converse with men, should, above all things, avoid that *overbearing austerity*, which (as Plato says) *is always the companion of solitude*, and cultivate in his heart the patience which some people so much deride. Marcius, then, being plain and artless, but rigid and inflexible withal, was persuaded, that to vanquish opposition was the highest attainment of a gallant spirit. He never dreamed that such obstinacy is rather the effect of the weakness and effeminacy of a distempered mind, which breaks out in violent passions, like so many tumours; and therefore he went away in great disorder, and full of rancour against the people. Such of the young nobility as were most distinguished by the pride of birth and greatness of spirit, who had always been wonderfully taken with Marcius and then unluckily happened to attend him, inflamed his resentment by expressing their own grief and indignation. For he was their leader in every expedition, and their instructor in the art of war: he it was who inspired them with a truly virtuous emulation, and taught them to rejoice in their own success, without envying the exploits of others.

In the meantime, a great quantity of bread-corn was brought to Rome, being partly bought up in Italy, and partly a present from Gelon, King of Syracuse. The aspect of affairs appeared now to be encouraging ; and it was hoped that the intestine broils would cease with the scarcity. The senate, therefore, being immediately assembled, the people stood in crowds without, waiting for the issue of their deliberations. They expected that the market-rates for the corn that was bought would be moderate, and that a distribution of that which was a gift would be made *gratis* ; for there were some who proposed that the senate should dispose of it in that manner. But Marcius stood up, and severely censured those that spoke in favour of the commonalty, calling them demagogues and traitors to the nobility. He said, they nourished to their own great prejudice the pernicious seeds of boldness and petulance, which had been sown among the populace, when they should rather have nipped them in the bud, and not have suffered the plebeians to strengthen themselves with the tribunitial power. That the people were now become formidable, gaining whatever point they pleased, and not doing any one thing against their inclination ; so that living in a sort of anarchy, they would no longer obey the consuls, nor acknowledge any superiors but those whom they called their own magistrates. That the senators who advised that distributions should be made in the manner of the Greeks, whose government was entirely democratical, were effecting the ruin of the constitution, by encouraging the insolence of the rabble. For that they would not suppose they received such favours for the campaign which they had refused to make, or for the secessions by which they had deserted their country, or for the calumnies which they had countenanced against the senate : “but,” continued he, “they will think that we yield to them through fear, and grant them such indulgences by way of flattery ; and as they will expect to find us always so complaisant, there will be no end to their disobedience, no period to their turbulent and seditious practices. It would, therefore, be perfect madness to take such a step. Nay, if we are wise, we shall entirely abolish the tribunes’ office,* which has made ciphers of the consuls, and divided the city in such a manner, that it is no longer one as formerly, but broken into two parts, which will never knit again or cease to vex and harass each other with all the evils of discord.”

* The tribunes had lately procured a law, which made it penal to interrupt them when they were speaking to the people.

Marcus, haranguing to this purpose, inspired the young senators and almost all the men of fortune with his own enthusiasm ; and they cried out that he was the only man in Rome who had a spirit above the meanness of flattery and submission : yet some of the aged senators foresaw the consequence, and opposed his measures. In fact, the issue was unfortunate. For the tribunes who were present, when they saw that Marcus would have a majority of voices, ran out to the people, loudly calling upon them to stand by their own magistrates and give their best assistance. An assembly then was held in a tumultuary manner, in which the speeches of Marcus were recited, and the plebeians in their fury had thoughts of breaking in upon the senate. The tribunes pointed their rage against Marcus in particular, by impeaching him in form, and sent for him to make his defence. But as he spurned the messengers, they went themselves, attended by the ædiles, to bring him by force, and began to lay hands on him. Upon this the patricians stood up for him, drove off the tribunes, and beat the ædiles ; till night coming on broke off the quarrel. Early next morning, the consuls observing that the people, now extremely incensed, flocked from all quarters into the *forum* : and dreading what might be the consequence to the city, hastily convened the senate, and moved, that they should consider how with kind words and favourable resolutions they might bring the commons to temper ; for that this was not a time to display their ambition, nor would it be prudent to pursue disputes about the point of honour at a critical and dangerous juncture, which required the greatest moderation and delicacy of conduct. As the majority agreed to the motion, they went out to confer with the people, and used their best endeavours to pacify them, coolly refuting calumnies, and modestly, though not without some degree of sharpness, complaining of their behaviour. As to the price of bread-corn and other provisions, they declared there should be no difference between them.

Great part of the people were moved with this application, and it clearly appeared, by their candid attention, that they were ready to close with it. Then the tribunes stood up and said, that since the senate acted with such moderation, the people were not unwilling to make concessions in their turn ; but they insisted that Marcus should come and answer to these articles : Whether he had not stirred up the senate to the confounding of all government, and to the destroying of the people's privileges ? Whether he had not refused to obey their summons ? Whether he had not beaten and otherwise

maltreated the ædiles in the forum : and by these means (as far as in him lay) levied war, and brought the citizens to sheath their swords in each other's bosom? These things they said with a design, either to humble Marcius, by making him submit to entreat the people's clemency, which was much against his haughty temper ; or, if he followed his native bent, to draw him to make the breach incurable. The latter they were in hopes of, and the rather because they knew the man well. He stood as if he would have made his defence, and the people awaited in silence for what he had to say. But when, instead of the submissive language that was expected, he began with an aggravating boldness, and rather accused the commons than defended himself ; when, with the tone of his voice and the fierceness of his looks, he expressed an intrepidity bordering upon insolence and contempt, they lost all patience ; and Sicinius, the boldest of the tribunes, after a short consultation with his colleagues, pronounced openly that the tribunes condemned Marcius to die. He then ordered the ædiles to take him immediately up to the top of the Tarpeian rock, and throw him down the precipice. However, when they came to lay hands on him, the action appeared horrible even to many of the plebeians. The patricians, shocked and astonished, ran with great outcries to his assistance, and got Marcius into the midst of them, some interposing to keep off the arrest, and others stretching out their hands in supplication to the multitude : but no regard was paid to words and entreaties amidst such disorder and confusion, until the friends and relations of the tribunes perceiving it would be impossible to carry off Marcius and punish him capitally, without first spilling much patrician blood, persuaded them to alter the cruel and unprecedented part of the sentence ; not to use violence in the affair, or put him to death without form of trial, but to refer all to the people's determination in full assembly.

Sicinius, then a little mollified, asked the patricians what they meant by taking Marcius out of the hands of the people, who were resolved to punish him? To which they replied by another question, "What do you mean by thus dragging one of the worthiest men in Rome, without trial, to a barbarous and illegal execution?" "If that be all," said Sicinius, "you shall no longer have a pretence for your quarrels and factious behaviour to the people ; for they grant you what you desire ; the man shall have his trial. And as for you, Marcius, we cite you to appear the third market-day, and satisfy the citizens of your innocence, if you can ; for then by their

suffrages your affair will be decided." The patricians were content with this compromise ; and thinking themselves happy in carrying Marcius off, they retired.

Meanwhile, before the third market-day, which was a considerable space, for the Romans hold their markets every ninth day, and thence call them *Nundinae*, war broke out with the Antiates,* which, because it was like to be of some continuance, gave them hopes of evading the judgment, since there would be time for the people to become more tractable, to moderate their anger, or perhaps let it entirely evaporate in the business of that expedition. But they soon made peace with the Antiates, and returned : whereupon the fears of the senate were renewed, and they often met to consider how things might be so managed, that they should neither give up Marcius, nor leave room for the tribunes to throw the people into new disorders. On this occasion, Appius Claudius, who was the most violent adversary the commons had, declared, that the senate would betray and ruin themselves, and absolutely destroy the constitution, if they should once suffer the plebeians to assume a power of suffrage against the patricians. But the oldest and most popular of the senators† were of opinion, that the people instead of behaving with more harshness and severity, would become mild and gentle, if that power were indulged them ; since they did not despise the senate, but rather thought themselves despised by it ; and the prerogative of judging would be such an honour to them, that they would be perfectly satisfied, and immediately lay aside all resentment.

Marcius, then, seeing the senate perplexed between their regard for him and fear of the people, asked the tribunes what they accused him of, and upon what charge he was to be tried before the people. Being told, that he would be tried for treason against the commonwealth, in designing to set himself up as a tyrant ;‡ " Let me go, then," said he, " to the people,

* Advice was suddenly brought to Rome, that the people of Antium had seized and confiscated the ships belonging to Gelon's ambassadors in their return to Sicily, and had even imprisoned the ambassadors. Hereupon they took up arms to chastise the Antiates, but they made submission.

† Valerius was at the head of these. He insisted also at large on the horrible consequences of a civil war.

‡ It was never known that any person who affected to set himself up tyrant joined with the nobility against the people, but on the contrary conspired with the people against the nobility. " Besides," said he, in his defence, " it was to save these citizens that I have received the wounds you see : let the tribunes show, if they can, how such actions are consistent with the treacherous designs they lay to my charge."

and make my defence ; I refuse no form of trial, nor any kind of punishment, if I be found guilty. Only allege no other crime against me, and do not impose upon the senate." The tribunes agreed to these conditions, and promised that the cause should turn upon this one point.

But the first thing they did, after the people were assembled, was to compel them to give their voices by tribes,* and not by centuries ; thus contriving that the meanest and most seditious part of the populace, and those who had no regard to justice or honour, might outvote such as had borne arms, or were of some fortune and character. In the next place, they passed by the charge of his affecting the sovereignty, because they could not prove it, and, instead of it, repeated what Marcius some time before had said in the senate against lowering the price of corn, and for abolishing the tribunitial power. And they added to the impeachment a new article—namely, his not bringing into the public treasury the spoils he had taken in the country of the Antiates, but dividing them among the soldiers.† This last accusation is said to have discomposed Marcius more than all the rest ; for it was what he did not expect, and he could not immediately think of an answer that would satisfy the commonalty ; the praises he bestowed upon those who made that campaign with him serving only to raise an outcry against him from the majority, who were not concerned in it. At last, when they came to vote, he was condemned by a majority of three tribes, and the penalty to be inflicted upon him was perpetual banishment.

After the sentence was pronounced the people were more elated, and went off in greater transports than they ever did on account of a victory in the field ; the senate, on the other hand,

* From the reign of Servius Tullius the voices had been always gathered by centuries. The consuls were for keeping up the ancient custom, being well apprised that they could save Coriolanus, if the voices were reckoned by centuries, of which the knights and the wealthiest of the citizens made the majority, being pretty sure of ninety-eight out of a hundred and seventy-three. But the artful tribunes, alleging that, in an affair relating to the rights of the people, every citizen's vote ought to have its due weight, would not by any means consent to let the voices be collected otherwise than by tribes.

† "This," said the tribune Decius, "is a plain proof of his evil designs : with the public money he secured to himself creatures and guards, and supporters of his intended usurpation. Let him make it appear that he had power to dispose of this booty without violating the laws. Let him answer to this one article, without dazzling us with the splendid show of his crowns and scars, or using any other arts to blind the assembly."

were in the greatest distress, and repented that they had not run the last risk, rather than suffer the people to possess themselves of so much power, and use it in so insolent a manner. There was no need then to look upon their dress, or any other mark of distinction, to know which was a plebeian and which a patrician ; the man that exulted, was a plebeian ; and the man that was dejected, a patrician.

Marcus alone was unmoved and unhumbled. Still lofty in his port and firm in his countenance, he appeared not to be sorry for himself, and to be the only one of the nobility that was not. This air of fortitude was not, however, the effect of reason or moderation, but the man was buoyed up by anger and indignation. And this, though the vulgar know it not, has its rise from grief, which, when it catches flame, is turned to anger, and then bids adieu to all feebleness and dejection. Hence, the angry man is courageous, just as he who has a fever is hot, the mind being upon the stretch and in a violent agitation. His subsequent behaviour soon showed that he was thus affected. For having returned to his own house, and embraced his mother and his wife, who lamented their fate with the weakness of women, he exhorted them to bear it with patience, and then hastened to one of the city-gates, being conducted by the patricians in a body. Thus he quitted Rome, without asking or receiving aught at any man's hand ; and took with him only three or four clients. He spent a few days in a solitary manner at some of his farms near the city, agitated with a thousand different thoughts, such as his anger suggested ; in which he did not propose any advantage to himself, but considered only how he might satisfy his revenge against the Romans. At last he determined to spirit up a cruel war against them from some neighbouring nation ; and for this purpose to apply first to the Volscians, whom he knew to be yet strong both in men and money, and whom he supposed to be rather exasperated and provoked to farther conflicts, than absolutely subdued.

There was then a person at Antium, Tullus Aufidius by name, highly distinguished among the Volscians by his wealth, his valour, and noble birth. Marcus was very sensible, that of all the Romans, himself was the man whom Tullus most hated. For, excited by ambition and emulation, as young warriors usually are, they had in several engagements encountered each other with menaces, and bold defiances, and thus had added personal enmity to the hatred which reigned between the two nations. But notwithstanding all this, considering the great

generosity of Tullus, and knowing that he was more desirous than any of the Volscians of an opportunity to return upon the Romans part of the evils his country had suffered, he took a method which strongly confirms that saying of the poet—

“Stern Wrath, how strong thy sway ! though life’s the forfeit,
Thy promise must be gained.”

For, putting himself in such clothes and habiliments as were most likely to prevent his being known, like Ulysses—

“He stole into the hostile town.”

It was evening when he entered, and though many people met him in the streets, not one of them knew him. He passed, therefore, on to the house of Tullus, where he got in undiscovered, and having directly made up to the fire-place,* he seated himself without saying a word, covering his face, and remaining in a composed posture. The people of the house were very much surprised ; yet they did not venture to disturb him, for there was something of dignity both in his person and his silence ; but they went and related the strange adventure to Tullus, who was then at supper. Tullus, upon this, rose from table, and coming to Coriolanus, asked him who he was, and upon what business he was come. Coriolanus, uncovering his face, paused awhile, and then thus addressed him : “If thou dost not yet know me, Tullus, but distrustest thy own eyes, I must of necessity be my own accuser. I am Caius Marcius, who have brought so many calamities upon the Volscians, and bear the additional name of Coriolanus, which will not suffer me to deny that imputation, were I disposed to it. For all the labours and dangers I have undergone, I have no other reward left but that appellation, which distinguishes my enmity to your nation, and which cannot indeed be taken from me. Of everything else I am deprived by the envy and outrage of the people, on the one hand, and the cowardice and treachery of the magistrates and those of my own order, on the other. Thus driven out an exile, I am come a suppliant to thy household gods ; not for shelter and protection, for why should I come hither if I were afraid of death ? but for vengeance against those who have expelled me, which, methinks, I begin to take, by putting myself into thy hands. If, therefore, thou art disposed to attack the enemy, come on, brave Tullus, avail thyself of my misfortunes ; let my personal distress be the common happiness of the Volscians. You may be assured I

* The fire-place, having the domestic gods in it, was esteemed sacred ; and therefore all suppliants resorted to it, as to an asylum.

shall fight much better for you than I have fought against you, because they who know perfectly the state of the enemy's affairs are much more capable of annoying them, than such as do not know them. But if thou hast given up all thoughts of war, I neither desire to live, nor is it fit for thee to preserve a person who of old has been thine enemy, and now is not able to do thee any sort of service."

Tullus, delighted with this address, gave him his hand, and "Rise," said he, "Marcius, and take courage. The present you thus make of yourself is inestimable; and you may assure yourself that the Volscians will not be ungrateful." Then he entertained him at his table with great kindness; and the next and the following days they consulted together about the war.

Rome was then in great confusion, by reason of the animosity of the nobility against the commons, which was considerably heightened by the late condemnation of Marcius. Many prodigies were also announced by private persons, as well as by the priests and diviners. One of which was as follows:—Titus Latinus, a man of no high rank, but of great modesty and candour, not addicted to superstition, much less to vain pretences to what is extraordinary, had this dream. Jupiter, he thought, appeared to him, and ordered him to tell the senate that they had provided him a very bad and ill-favoured leader of the dance in the sacred procession. When he had seen this vision, he said, he paid but little regard to it at first. It was presented a second and a third time, and he neglected it: whereupon he had the unhappiness to see his son sicken and die, and he himself was suddenly struck in such a manner as to lose the use of his limbs. These particulars he related in the senate-house, being carried on his couch for that purpose. And he had no sooner made an end, than he perceived, as they tell us, his strength return, and rose up and walked home without help.

The senate were much surprised, and made a strict inquiry into the affair; the result of which was, that a certain householder had delivered up one of his slaves, who had been guilty of some offence, to his other servants, with an order to whip him through the market-place, and then put him to death. While they were executing this order, and scourging the wretch, who writhed himself, through the violence of pain, into various postures,* the procession happened to come up. Many of the

* According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the master had given orders that the slave should be punished at the head of the procession, to make the ignominy the more notorious; which was a still greater affront to the deity in whose honour the procession was led up.

people that composed it were fired with indignation, for the sight was excessively disagreeable and shocking to humanity ; yet nobody gave him the least assistance ; only curses and execrations were vented against the man who punished with so much cruelty. For in those times they treated their slaves with great moderation, and this was natural, because they worked and even ate with them. It was deemed a great punishment for a slave who had committed a fault to take up that piece of wood with which they supported the thill of a waggon, and carry it round the neighbourhood. For he that was thus exposed to the derision of the family and other inhabitants of the place, entirely lost his credit, and was styled *Furcifer* : the Romans calling that piece of timber *furca*, which the Greeks call *hypostates*, that is, a *supporter*.

When Latinus had given the senate an account of his dream, and they doubted who this ill-favoured and bad leader of the dance might be, the excessive severity of the punishment put some of them in mind of the slave who was whipped through the market-place, and afterwards put to death. All the priests agreeing that he must be the person meant, his master had a heavy fine laid upon him, and the procession and games were exhibited anew in honour of Jupiter. Hence it appears, that Numa's religious institutions in general are very wise, and that this in particular is highly conducive to the purposes of piety—namely, that when the magistrates or priests are employed in any sacred ceremony, a herald goes before, and proclaims aloud, *Hoc age*, i.e., *be attentive to this* ; hereby commanding everybody to regard the solemn acts of religion, and not to suffer any business or avocation to intervene and disturb them ; as well knowing, that men's attention, especially in what concerns the worship of the gods, is seldom fixed, but by a sort of violence and constraint.

But it is not only in so important a case that the Romans begin anew their sacrifices, their processions, and games : they do it for very small matters. If one of the horses that draw the chariots called *Tensæ*, in which are placed the images of the gods, happened to stumble, or if the charioteer took the reins in his left hand, the whole procession was to be repeated. And in later ages they have set about one sacrifice thirty several times, on account of some defect or inauspicious appearance in it. Such reverence have the Romans paid to the Supreme Being.

Meantime Marcius and Tullus held secret conferences with the principal Volscians, in which they exhorted them to begin the war while Rome was torn in pieces with factious disputes ;

but a sense of honour restrained some of them from breaking the truce which was concluded for two years. The Romans, however, furnished them with a pretence for it, having, through some suspicion or false suggestion, caused proclamation to be made at one of the public shows or games, that all the Volscians should quit the town before sunset. Some say it was a stratagem contrived by Marcius, who suborned a person to go to the consuls, and accuse the Volscians of a design to attack the Romans during the games, and to set fire to the city. This proclamation exasperated the whole Volscian nation against the Romans; and Tullus, greatly aggravating the affront,* at last persuaded them to send to Rome to demand that the lands and cities which had been taken from them in the war should be restored. The senate having heard what the ambassadors had to say, answered with indignation, that the Volscians might be the first to take up arms, but the Romans would be the last to lay them down. Hereupon Tullus summoned a general assembly of his countrymen, whom he advised to send for Marcius, and forgetting all past injuries, to rest satisfied that the service he would do them, now their ally, would greatly exceed all the damage they had received from him while their enemy.

Marcius accordingly was called in, and made an oration to the people, who found that he knew how to speak as well as fight, and that he excelled in capacity as well as courage, and therefore they joined him in commission with Tullus. As he was afraid that the Volscians would spend much time in preparations, and so lose a favourable opportunity for action, he left it to the magistrates and other principal persons in Antium to provide troops and whatever else was necessary, while he, without making any set levies, took a number of volunteers, and with them overran the Roman territories before anybody in Rome could expect it. There he made so much booty that the Volscians found it difficult to carry it off, and consume it in the camp. But the great quantity of provisions he collected, and the damage he did the enemy by committing such spoil, was the least part of the service in this expedition. The great point he had in view in the whole matter was to increase the people's suspicions of the nobility; for, while he ravaged the whole country he was very attentive to spare the lands of the patricians,

* "We alone," said he, "of all the different nations now in Rome, are not thought worthy to see the games. We alone, like the profanest wretches and outlaws, are driven from a public festival. Go, and tell in all your cities and villages the distinguishing mark the Romans have put upon us."

and to see that nothing should be carried off from them. Hence, the ill opinion the two parties had of each other, and consequently the troubles grew greater than ever ; the patricians accusing the plebeians of unjustly driving out one of the bravest men in Rome, and the plebeians reproaching *them* with bringing Marcius upon them, to indulge their revenge, and with sitting secure spectators of what others suffered, by the war, while the war itself was a guard to their lands and subsistence. Marcius having thus effected his purpose, and inspired the Volscians with courage, not only to meet, but even to despise the enemy, drew off his party without being molested.

The Volscian forces assembled with great expedition and alacrity ; and they appeared so considerable, that it was thought proper to leave part to garrison their towns, while the rest marched against the Romans. Coriolanus leaving it in the option of Tullus which corps he would command, Tullus observed, that as his colleague was not at all inferior to himself in valour, and had hitherto fought with better success, he thought it most advisable for *him* to lead the army into the field, while himself stayed behind to provide for the defence of the towns, and to supply the troops that made the campaign with everything necessary.*

Marcius, strengthened still more by this division of the command, marched first against Circeii, a Roman colony ; and as it surrendered without resistance, he would not suffer it to be plundered. After this he laid waste the territories of the Latins, expecting that the Romans would hazard a battle for the Latins, who were their allies, and by frequent messengers called upon them for assistance. But the commons of Rome showed no alacrity in the affair, and the consuls, whose office was almost expired, were not willing to run such a risk, and therefore rejected the request of the Latins. Marcius then turned his arms against Tolerium, Labici, Pedum, and Bola, cities of Latium, which he took by assault ; and because they made resistance, sold the inhabitants as slaves, and plundered their houses. At the same time he took particular care of such as voluntarily came over to him ; and that they might not sustain any damage against his will, he always encamped at the greatest distance he could, and would not even touch upon their lands, if he could avoid it.

* It would have been very imprudent in Tullus to have left Coriolanus, who had been an enemy, and now might possibly be only a pretended friend, at the head of an army in the bowels of his country, while he was marching at the head of another against Rome.

Afterwards he took Bollæ, which is little more than twelve miles from Rome, where he put to the sword almost all that were of age to bear arms, and got much plunder. The rest of the Volscians, who were left as a safeguard to the towns, had not patience to remain at home any longer, but ran with their weapons in their hands to Marcius, declaring that they knew no other leader or general but him. His name and his valour were renowned through Italy. All were astonished that one man's changing sides could make so prodigious an alteration in affairs.

Nevertheless, there was nothing but disorder at Rome. The Romans refused to fight, and passed their time in cabals, seditious speeches, and mutual complaints, until news was brought that Coriolanus had laid siege to Lavinium, where the holy symbols of the gods of their fathers were placed, and from whence they derived their original, that being the first city which Æneas built. A wonderful and universal change of opinion then appeared among the people, and a very strange and absurd one among the patricians. The people were desirous to annul the sentence against Marcius, and to recall him to Rome, but the senate being assembled to deliberate on that point, finally rejected the proposition, either out of a perverse humour of opposing whatever measure the people espoused, or perhaps unwilling that Coriolanus should owe his return to the favour of the people; or else, having conceived some resentment against him for harassing and distressing all the Romans, when he had been injured only by a part, and for showing himself an enemy to his country, in which he knew the most respectable body had both sympathised with him and shared in his ill-treatment: this resolution being announced to the commons,* it was not in their power to proceed to vote or to pass a bill, for a previous decree of the senate was necessary.

At this news Coriolanus was still more exasperated; so that, quitting the siege of Lavinium,† he marched with great fury towards Rome, and encamped only five miles from it, at the *Fossæ Cluiliæ*. The sight of him caused great terror and confusion, but for the present it appeased the sedition: for neither magistrate nor senator durst any longer oppose the people's

* Perhaps the senate now refused to comply with the demands of the people, either to clear themselves from the suspicion of maintaining a correspondence with Coriolanus, or possibly out of that magnanimity which made the Romans averse to peace, when they were attended with bad success in war.

† He left a body of troops to continue the blockade.

desire to recall him. When they saw the women running up and down the streets, and the supplications and tears of the aged men at the altars of the gods, when all courage and spirit were gone, and salutary councils were no more ; then they acknowledged that the people were right in endeavouring to be reconciled to Coriolanus, and that the senate were under a great mistake, in beginning to indulge the passions of anger and revenge at a time when they should have renounced them. All, therefore, agreed to send ambassadors to Coriolanus to offer him liberty to return, and to entreat him to put an end to the war. Those that went on the part of the senate, being all either relations or friends of Coriolanus, expected at the first interview much kindness from a man who was thus connected with them. But it happened quite otherwise ; for, being conducted through the Volscian ranks, they found him seated in council, with a number of great officers, and with an insufferable appearance of pomp and severity. He bade them then declare their business, which they did in a very modest and humble manner, as became the state of their affairs.

When they had made an end of speaking, he answered them with much bitterness and high resentment of the injuries done him ; and as general of the Volscians, he insisted that the Romans should restore all the cities and lands which they had taken in the former wars ; and that they should grant by decree the freedom of the city to the Volscians, as they had done to the Latins ; for that no lasting peace could be made between the two nations but upon these just and equal conditions. He gave them thirty days to consider of them ; and having dismissed the ambassadors, he immediately retired from the Roman territories.

Several among the Volscians, who for a long time had envied his reputation, and been uneasy at the interest he had with the people, availed themselves of this circumstance to calumniate and reproach him. Tullus himself was of the number. Not that he had received any particular injury from Coriolanus, but he was led away by a passion too natural to man. It gave him pain to find his own glory obscured, and himself entirely neglected by the Volscians, who looked upon Coriolanus as their supreme head, and thought that others might well be satisfied with that portion of power and authority which he thought proper to allow them. Hence, secret hints were first given, and in their private cabals his enemies expressed their dissatisfaction, giving the name of treason to his retreat. For though he had not betrayed their cities or armies, yet they said he had

traitorously given up time, by which these and all other things are both won and lost. He had allowed them a respite of no less than thirty days, knowing their affairs to be so embarrassed that they wanted such a space to re-establish them.

Coriolanus, however, did not spend those thirty days idly. He harassed the enemy's allies,* laid waste their lands, and took seven great and populous cities in that interval. The Romans did not venture to send them any succours. They were as spiritless, and as little disposed to the war, as if their bodies had been relaxed and benumbed with the palsy.

When the term was expired, and Coriolanus returned with all his forces, they sent a second embassy, to entreat him to lay aside his resentment, to draw off the Volscians from their territories, and then to proceed as should seem most conducive to the advantage of both nations. For that the Romans would not give up anything through fear ; but if he thought it reasonable that the Volscians should be indulged in some particular points, they would be duly considered if they laid down their arms. Coriolanus replied, that as general of the Volscians he would give them no answer ; but as one who was yet a citizen of Rome, he would advise and exhort them to entertain humble thoughts, and to come within three days with a ratification of the just conditions he had proposed. At the same time he assured them, that if their resolutions should be of a different nature, it would not be safe for them to come any more into his camp with empty words.

The senate, having received the report of the ambassadors, considered the commonwealth as ready to sink in the waves of a dreadful tempest, and therefore cast the last, the *sacred anchor*, as it is called. They ordered all the priests of the gods, the ministers and guardians of the mysteries, and all that, by the ancient usage of their country, practised divination by the flight of birds, to go to Coriolanus, in their robes, with the ensigns which they bear in the duties of their office, and exert their utmost endeavours to persuade him to desist from the war, and then to treat with his countrymen of articles of peace for the Volscians. When they came, he did indeed vouchsafe to admit them into the camp, but showed them no other favour, nor gave them a milder answer than the others had received ; he bade them, in short, either accept the former proposals, or prepare for war.

* By this he prevented the allies of the Romans from assisting them, and guarded against the charge of treachery, which some of the Volscians were ready to bring against him.

When the priests returned, the Romans resolved to keep close within the city and to defend the walls ; intending only to repulse the enemy, should he attack them, and placing their chief hopes on the accidents of time and fortune : for they knew of no resources within themselves : the city was full of trouble and confusion, terror, and unhappy presages. At last something happened similar to what is often mentioned by Homer, but which men in general are little inclined to believe. For when, on occasion of any great and uncommon event, he says—

“ Pallas inspired that counsel ; ”

and again--

“ But some immortal power who rules the mind
Changed their resolves ; ”

and elsewhere—

“ The thought spontaneous rising,
Or by some god inspired, — ”

they despise the poet, as if, for the sake of absurd notions and incredible fables, he endeavoured to take away our liberty of will. A thing which Homer never dreamed of ; for whatever happens in the ordinary course of things, and is the effect of reason and consideration, he often ascribes to our own powers ; as—

“ My own great mind
I then consulted.”

And in another place—

“ Achilles heard with grief ; and various thoughts
Perplex'd his mighty mind.”

Once more—

“ But she in vain
Tempted Bellerophon. The noble youth
With Wisdom's shield was arm'd.”

And in extraordinary and wonderful actions, which require some supernatural impulse and enthusiastic movement, he never introduces the Deity as depriving man of freedom of will, but as moving the will. He does not represent the heavenly Power as producing the resolution, but ideas which lead to the resolution. The act, therefore, is by no means involuntary, since occasion only is given to free operations, and confidence and good hope are superadded. For either the Supreme Being must be excluded from all casuality and influence upon our actions, or it must be confessed that this is the only way in

which he assists men and co-operates with them ; since it is not to be supposed that he fashions our corporeal organs, or directs the motions of our hands and feet to the purposes he designs, but that by certain motives and ideas which he suggests, he either excites the active powers of the will or else restrains them.

The Roman women were then dispersed in the several temples, but the greatest part and the most illustrious of the matrons made their supplications at the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Among the last was Valeria, the sister of the great Publicola, a person who had done the Romans considerable service. Publicola died some time before ; but Valeria still lived in the greatest esteem : for her life did honour to her high birth. This woman discerning, by some divine impulse, what would be the best expedient, rose and called upon the other matrons to attend her to the house of Volumnia,* the mother of Coriolanus. When she entered, and found her sitting with her daughter-in-law, and with the children of Coriolanus on her lap, she approached her with her female companions, and spoke to this effect : “ We address ourselves to you, Volumnia and Virgilia, as women to women, without any decree of the senate or order of the consuls. But our god, we believe, lending a merciful ear to our prayers, put it in our minds to apply to you, and to entreat you to do a thing that will not only be salutary to us and the other citizens, but more glorious for you, if you hearken to us, than the reducing their fathers and husbands from mortal enmity to peace and friendship was to the daughters of the Sabines. Come, then, go along with us to Coriolanus ; join your instances to ours ; and give a true and honourable testimony to your country, that though she has received the greatest injuries from him, yet she has neither done nor resolved upon anything against you in her anger, but restores you safe into his hands, though perhaps she may not obtain any better terms to herself on that account.”

When Valeria had thus spoken, the rest of the women joined her request. Volumnia gave them this answer : “ Besides the share which we have in the general calamity, we are, my friends, in particular very unhappy ; since Marcius is lost to us, his glory obscured, and his virtue gone ; since we behold him surrounded by the arms of the enemies of his country, not as their prisoner, but their commander. But it is still a greater misfortune to us, if our country is become so weak as to have

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy call his mother Veturia, and his wife Volumnia.

need to repose her hopes upon us. For I know not whether he will have any regard for us, since he has had none for his country, which he used to prefer to his mother, to his wife and children. Take us, however, and make what use of us you please. Lead us to him. If we can do nothing else, we can expire at his feet in supplicating for Rome."

She then took the children and Virgilia with her,* and went with the other matrons to the Volscian camp. The sight of them produced, even in the enemy, compassion and a reverential silence. Coriolanus, who then happened to be seated upon the tribunal with his principal officers, seeing the women approach, was greatly agitated and surprised. Nevertheless, he endeavoured to retain his wonted sternness and inexorable temper, though he perceived that his wife was at the head of them. But unable to resist the emotions of affection, he could not suffer them to address him as he sat. He descended from the tribunal, and ran to meet them. First he embraced his mother for a considerable time, and afterwards his wife and children, neither refraining from tears nor any other instance of natural tenderness.

When he had sufficiently indulged his passion, and perceived that his mother wanted to speak, he called the Volscian counsellors to him, and Volumnia expressed herself to this purpose: "You see, my son, by our attire and miserable looks, and therefore I may spare myself the trouble of declaring, to what condition your banishment has reduced us. Think with yourself whether we are not the most unhappy of women, when fortune has changed the spectacle that should have been the most pleasing in the world, into the most dreadful; when Volumnia beholds her son, and Virgilia her husband, encamped in a hostile manner before the walls of his native city. And what to others is the greatest consolation under misfortune and adversity, I mean prayer to the gods, to us is rendered impracticable; for we cannot at the same time beg victory for our country and your preservation, but what our worst enemies would imprecate on us as a curse must of necessity be interwoven with our prayers. Your wife and children must either see their country perish, or you. As to my own part, I will not live to see this war decided by fortune. If I cannot persuade

* Valeria first gave advice of this design to the consuls, who proposed it in the senate, where, after long debates, it was approved of by the fathers. Then Veturia, and the most illustrious of the Roman matrons, in chariots which the consuls had ordered to be got ready for them, took their way to the enemy's camp.

you to prefer friendship and union to enmity and its ruinous consequences, and so to become a benefactor to both sides, rather than the destruction of one, you must take this along with you, and prepare to expect it, that you shall not advance against your country without trampling upon the dead body of her that bore you. For it does not become me to wait for that day, when my son shall be either led captive by his fellow-citizens, or triumph over Rome. If, indeed, I desired you to save your country by ruining the Volscians, I confess the case would be hard, and the choice difficult : for it would neither be honourable to destroy your countrymen, nor just to betray those who have placed their confidence in you. But what do we desire of you, more than deliverance from our own calamities ? A deliverance which will be equally salutary to both parties,* but most to the honour of the Volscians, since it will appear that their superiority empowered them to grant us the greatest of blessings, peace and friendship, while they themselves receive the same. If these take place, you will be acknowledged to be the principal cause of them ; if they do not, you alone must expect to bear the blame from both nations. And though the chance of war is uncertain, yet it will be the certain event of this, that if you conquer, you will be a destroying demon to your country ; if you are beaten, it will be clear that by indulging your resentment, you have plunged your friends and benefactors in the greatest of misfortunes."

Coriolanus listened to his mother while she went on with her speech, without saying the least word to her ; and Volumnia, seeing him stand a long time mute after she had left speaking, proceeded again in this manner : " Why are you silent, my son ? Is it an honour to yield everything to anger and resentment, and would it be a disgrace to yield to your mother in so important a petition ? Or does it become a great man to remember the injuries done him, and would it not equally become a great and good man with the highest regard and reverence to keep in mind the benefits he has received from his parents ? Surely you, of all men, should take care to be grateful, who have suffered so extremely by ingratitude. And yet, though you have already severely punished your country, you have not made your mother the least return for her kindness. The most sacred ties both of nature and religion, without any other constraint, require that you should indulge me in this

* She begged a truce for a year, that in that time measures might be taken for settling a solid and lasting peace.

just and reasonable request ; but if words cannot prevail, this only resource is left." When she had said this, she threw herself at his feet, together with his wife and children ; upon which Coriolanus, crying out, "O mother ! what is it you have done ?" raised her from the ground, and tenderly pressing her hand, continued, "You have gained a victory fortunate for your country, but ruinous to me.* I go, vanquished by you alone." Then, after a short conference with his mother and wife in private, he sent them back to Rome, agreeably to their desire. Next morning he drew off the Volscians, who had not all the same sentiments of what had passed. Some blamed him ; others, whose inclinations were for peace, found no fault ; others again, though they disliked what was done, did not look upon Coriolanus as a bad man, but thought he was excusable in yielding to such powerful solicitations. However, none presumed to contradict his orders, though they followed him rather out of veneration for his virtue than regard to his authority.

The sense of the dreadful and dangerous circumstances which the Roman people had been in by reason of the war never appeared so strong as when they were delivered from it. For no sooner did they perceive from the walls that the Volscians were drawing off, than all the temples were opened and filled with persons crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice, as for some great victory. But in nothing was the public joy more evident than in the affectionate regard and honour which both the senate and people paid the women, whom they both considered and declared the means of their preservation. Nevertheless, when the senate decreed † that whatever they thought would contribute most to their glory and satisfaction, the consuls should take care to see it done, they only desired that a temple might be built to the *Fortune of women*, the expense of which they offered to defray themselves, requiring the commonwealth to be at no other charge than that of sacrifices, and such a solemn service as was suitable to the majesty of the gods. The senate, though they commended their generosity, ordered the temple and shrine to be erected at the public charge ;‡ but the women contributed their money

* He well foresaw that the Volscians would never forgive him the favour he did their enemies.

† It was decreed that an encomium of those matrons should be engraven on a public monument.

‡ It was erected in the Latin way, about four miles from Rome, on the place where Veturia had overcome the obstinacy of her son. Valeria, who had proposed so successful a deputation, was the first priestess of this temple, which was much frequented by the Roman women.

notwithstanding, and with it provided another image of the goddess, which the Romans report, when it was set up in the temple, to have uttered these words, "O women! most acceptable to the gods is this your pious gift."

They fabulously report that this voice was repeated twice, thus offering to our faith things that appear impossible. Indeed, we will not deny that images may have sweated, may have been covered with tears, and emitted drops like blood. For wood and stone often contract a scurf and mouldiness, that produces moisture; and they not only exhibit many different colours themselves, but receive variety of tinctures from the ambient air: at the same time there is no reason why the Deity may not make use of these signs to announce things to come. It is also very possible that a sound like that of a sigh or a groan may proceed from a statue, by the rupture or violent separation of some of the interior parts: but that an articulate voice and expression so clear, so full and perfect, should fall from a thing inanimate, is out of all the bounds of possibility. For neither the soul of man, nor even God himself, can utter vocal sounds, and pronounce words, without an organised body and parts fitted for utterance. Wherever, then, history asserts such things, and bears us down with the testimony of many credible witnesses, we must conclude that some impression not unlike that of sense, influenced the imagination, and produced the belief of a real sensation; as in sleep we seem to hear what we hear not, and to see what we do not see. As for those persons who are possessed with such a strong sense of religion that they cannot reject anything of this kind, they found their faith on the wonderful and incomprehensible power of God. For there is no manner of resemblance between him and a human being, either in his nature, his wisdom, his power, or his operations. If, therefore, he performs something which we cannot effect, and executes what with us is impossible, there is nothing in this contradictory to reason; since, though he far excels us in everything, yet the dissimilitude and distance between him and us appears most of all in the works which he hath wrought. But "much knowledge of things divine," as Heraclitus affirms, "escapes us through want of faith."

When Coriolanus returned, after this expedition, to Antium, Tullus, who both hated and feared him, resolved to assassinate him immediately; being persuaded, that if he missed this, he should not have such another opportunity. First, therefore, he collected and prepared a number of accomplices, and then called upon Coriolanus to divest himself of his authority, and

give an account of his conduct to the Volscians. Dreading the consequence of being reduced to a private station, while Tullus, who had so great an interest with his countrymen, was in power, he made answer, that if the Volscians required it, he would give up his commission, and not otherwise, since he had taken it at their common request ; but that he was ready to give an account of his behaviour even then, if the citizens of Antium would have it so. Hereupon they met in full assembly, and some of the orators that were prepared for it endeavoured to exasperate the populace against him. But when Coriolanus stood up, the violence of the tumult abated, and he had liberty to speak ; the best part of the people of Antium, and those that were most inclined to peace, appearing ready to hear him with candour, and to pass sentence with equity. Tullus was then afraid that he would make but too good a defence : for he was an eloquent man, and the former advantages which he had procured the nation outweighed his present offence. Nay, the very impeachment was a clear proof of the greatness of the benefits he had conferred upon them. For they would never have thought themselves injured in not conquering Rome, if they had not been near taking it through his means. The conspirators therefore, judged it prudent not to wait any longer, or to try the multitude ; and the boldest of their faction, crying out that a traitor ought not to be heard, or suffered by the Volscians to act the tyrant, and refuse to lay down his authority, rushed upon him in a body, and * killed him on the spot ; not one that was present lifting a hand to defend him. It was soon evident that this was not done with the general approbation ; for they assembled from several cities to give his body an honourable burial,† and adorned his monument with arms and spoils, as became a distinguished warrior and general.

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus says they stoned him to death.

† They dressed him in his general's robes, and laid his corpse on a magnificent bier, which was carried by such young officers as were most distinguished for their martial exploits. Before him were borne the spoils he had taken from the enemy, the crowns he had gained, and plans of the cities he had taken. In this order his body was laid on the pile, while several victims was slain in honour to his memory. When the pile was consumed, they gathered up his ashes, which they interred on the spot, and erected a magnificent monument there. Coriolanus was slain in the second year of the seventy-third olympiad, in the two hundred and sixty-sixth year of Rome, and eight years after his first campaign. According to this account he died in the flower of his age ; but Livy informs us, from Fabius, a very ancient author, that he lived till he was very old : and that in the decline of life he was wont to say, that a state of exile was always uncomfortable, but more so to an old man than to another. We cannot, however, think that

When the Romans were informed of his death, they showed no sign either of favour or resentment. Only they permitted the women, at their request, to go into mourning for ten months, as they used to do for a father, a son, or a brother ; this being the longest term for mourning allowed by Numa Pompilius.

The Volscian affairs soon wanted the abilities of Marcius. For, first of all, in a dispute which they had with the Æqui, their friends and allies, which of the two nations should give a general to their armies, they proceeded to blows, and a number were killed and wounded ; and afterwards coming to a battle with the Romans, in which they were defeated, and Tullus, together with the flower of their army, slain, they were forced to accept of very disgraceful conditions of peace, by which they were reduced to the obedience of Rome, and obliged to accept of such terms as the conquerors would allow them.

ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS COMPARED.

HAVING now given a detail of all the actions of these two great men that we thought worthy to be known and remembered, we may perceive at one glance that as to their military exploits the balance is nearly even. For both gave extraordinary proofs of courage as soldiers, and of prudence and capacity as commanders-in-chief ; though perhaps some may think Alcibiades the more complete general, on account of his many successful expeditions at sea as well as land. But this is common to both, that when they had the command, and fought in person, the affairs of their country infallibly prospered, and as infallibly declined when they went over to the enemy.

As to their behaviour in point of government, if the licentiousness of Alcibiades, and his compliances with the humour of the populace, were abhorred by the wise and sober part of the Athenians ; the proud and forbidding manner of Coriolanus,

Coriolanus grew old among the Volscians. Had he done so, his counsels would have preserved them from ruin ; and, after Tullus was slain, he would have restored their affairs, and have got them admitted to the rights and privileges of Roman citizens, in the same manner as the Latins.

and his excessive attachment to the patricians, were equally detested by the Roman people. In this respect, therefore, neither of them is to be commended ; though he that avails himself of popular arts, and shows too much indulgence, is less blameable than he who, to avoid the imputation of obsequiousness, treats the people with severity. It is, indeed, a disgrace to attain to power by flattering them ; but on the other hand, to pursue it by acts of insolence and oppression, is not only shameful, but unjust.

That Coriolanus had an openness and simplicity of manners is a point beyond dispute, whilst Alcibiades was crafty and dark in the proceedings of his administration. The latter has been most blamed for the trick which he put upon the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, as Thucydides tells us, and by which he renewed the war. Yet this stroke of policy, though it plunged Athens again in war, rendered the alliance with the Mantineans and Argives, which was brought about by Alcibiades, much stronger and more respectable. But was not Coriolanus chargeable with a falsity too, when, as Dionysius informs us, he stirred up the Romans against the Volscians, by loading the latter with an infamous calumny, when they went to see the public games ? The cause, too, makes this action the more criminal : for it was not by ambition or a rival spirit in politics that he was influenced, as Alcibiades was ; but he did it to gratify his anger, "a passion which," as Dion says, "is ever ungrateful to its votaries." By this means they disturbed all Italy, and in his quarrel with his country destroyed many cities which had never done him any injury. Alcibiades, indeed, was the author of many evils to the Athenians, but was easily reconciled to them when he found that they repented. Nay, when he was driven a second time into exile, he could not bear with patience the blunders committed by the new generals, nor see with indifference the dangers to which they were exposed ; but observed the same conduct which Aristides is so highly extolled for with respect to Themistocles. He went in person to those generals, who, he knew, were not his friends, and showed them what steps it was proper for them to take. Whereas Coriolanus directed his revenge against the whole commonwealth, though he had not been injured by the whole, but the best and most respectable part both suffered and sympathised with him. And afterwards, when the Romans endeavoured to make satisfaction for that single grievance by many embassies and much submission, he was not in the least pacified or won ; but showed himself determined to prosecute a

cruel war, not in order to procure his return to his native country, but to conquer and to ruin it. It may, indeed, be granted, that there was this difference in the case: Alcibiades returned to the Athenians, when the Spartans, who both feared and hated him, intended to despatch him privately. But it was not so honourable in Coriolanus to desert the Volscians, who had treated him with the utmost kindness, appointed him general with full authority, and reposed in him the highest confidence: very different in this respect from Alcibiades, who was abused, to their own purposes, rather than employed and trusted by the Lacedæmonians; and who, after having been tossed about in their city and their camp, was at last obliged to put himself in the hands of Tissaphernes. But, perhaps, he made his court to the Persian * in order to prevent the utter ruin of his country, to which he was desirous to return.

History informs us, that Alcibiades often took bribes, which he lavished again with equal discredit upon his vicious pleasures; while Coriolanus refused to receive even what the generals he served under would have given him with honour. Hence the behaviour of the latter was the more detested by the people in the disputes about debts; since it was not with a view to advantage, but out of contempt and by way of insult, as they thought, that he bore so hard upon them.

Antipater, in one of his epistles, where he speaks of the death of Aristotle, the philosopher, tells us, "That great man, besides his other extraordinary talents, had the art of insinuating himself into the affections of those he conversed with." For want of this talent, the great actions and virtues of Coriolanus were odious even to those who received the benefit of them, and who, notwithstanding, could not endure that "austerity which," as Plato says, "is the companion of solitude." But as Alcibiades, on the other hand, knew how to treat those with whom he conversed with an engaging civility, it is no wonder if the glory of his exploits flourished in the favour and honourable regard of mankind, since his very faults had sometimes their grace and elegance. Hence it was, that though his conduct was often very prejudicial to Athens, yet he was frequently appointed commander-in-chief; while Coriolanus, after many great achievements, with the best pretensions, sued

* For he prevented Tissaphernes from assisting the Spartans with all his forces. Thus he served the Athenians and the Persians at the same time. For it was undoubtedly the interest of the Persians to preserve the two leading powers of Greece in a condition to annoy each other; and, in the meantime, to reap the advantage themselves.

for the consulship, and lost it. The former deserved to be hated by his countrymen, and was not ; the latter was not beloved, though at the same time he was admired.

We should, moreover, consider that Coriolanus performed no considerable services, while he commanded the armies of his country, though for the enemy against his country he did ; but that Alcibiades, both as a soldier and a general, did great things for the Athenians. When amongst his fellow-citizens, Alcibiades was superior to all the attempts of his enemies, though their calumnies prevailed against him in his absence ; whereas Coriolanus was condemned by the Romans, though present to defend himself ; and at length killed by the Volscians, against all rights, indeed, whether human or divine : nevertheless, he afforded them a colour for what they did, by granting that peace to the entreaties of the women which he had refused to the application of the ambassadors ; by that means leaving the enmity between the two nations and the grounds of the war entire, and losing a very favourable opportunity for the Volscians. For surely he would not have drawn off the forces without the consent of those that committed them to his conduct, if he had sufficiently regarded his duty to them.

But if, without considering the Volscians in the least, he consulted his resentment only in stirring up the war, and put a period to it again when that was satisfied, he should not have spared his country on his mother's account, but have spared her with it : for both his mother and wife made a part of his native city which he was besieging. But inhumanly to reject the application and entreaties of the ambassadors, and the petition of the priests, and then to consent to a retreat in favour of his mother, was not doing honour to his mother, but bringing disgrace upon his country ; since, as if it was not worthy to be saved for its own sake, it appeared to be saved only in compassion to a woman. For the favour was invidious, and so far from being engaging, that, in fact, it savoured of cruelty ; and consequently was unacceptable to both parties. He retired without being won by the supplications of those he was at war with, and without consent of those for whom he undertook it. The cause of all which was, the austerity of his manners, his arrogance and inflexibility of mind, things hateful enough to the people at all times ; but, when united with ambition, savage and intolerable. Persons of his temper, as if they had no need of honours, neglect to ingratiate themselves with the multitude, and yet are excessively chagrined when those are denied them. It is true, neither Metellus, nor Aristides, nor Epaminondas,

were pliant to the people's humour, or could submit to flatter them; but then they had a thorough contempt of everything that the people could either give or take away; and when they were banished, or, on any other occasion, miscarried in the suffrages, or were condemned in large fines, they nourished no anger against their ungrateful countrymen, but were satisfied with their repentance, and reconciled to them at their request. And, surely, he who is sparing in his assiduities to the people, can but with an ill grace think of revenging any slight he may suffer: for extreme resentment, in case of disappointment in a pursuit of honour, must be the effect of an extreme desire of it.

Alcibiades, for his part, readily acknowledged that he was charmed with honours, and that he was very uneasy at being neglected; and therefore he endeavoured to recommend himself to those he had to do with, by every engaging art. But the pride of Coriolanus would not permit him to make his court to those who were capable of conferring honours upon him; and at the same time his ambition filled him with regret and indignation when they passed him by. This, then, is the blameable part of his character; all the rest is great and glorious. In point of temperance and disregard of riches, he is fit to be compared with the most illustrious examples of integrity in Greece, and not with Alcibiades, who, in this respect, was the most profligate of men, and had the least regard for decency and honour.

NICIAS.

WE have pitched upon Crassus, as a proper person to be put in parallel with Nicias; and the misfortunes which befall the one in Parthia, with those which overtook the other in Sicily. But we have an apology to make to the reader on another account. As we are now undertaking a history, where Thucydides in the pathetic has even outdone himself, and in energy and variety of composition is perfectly inimitable; we hope no one will suspect we have the ambition of Timæus, who flattered himself he could exceed the power of Thucydides, and make Philistus pass for an inelegant and ordinary writer.

* Philistus was so able a writer that Cicero calls him the younger Thucydides.

Under the influence of that deception, Timæus plunges into the midst of the battles both at sea and land, and speeches in which those historians shine the most. However, he soon appears—

“Not like a footman by the Lydian car,”

as Pindar expresses it, but a shallow puerile writer ;* or, to use the words of the poet Diphilus—

“A heavy animal
Cased in Sicilian lard.”

Sometimes he falls into the dreams of Xenarchus :† as where he says, he could not but consider it as a bad omen for the Athenians, that they had a general with a name derived from victory, ‡ who disapproved the expedition. As also, that by the mutilation of the Hermæ, the gods presignified that they should suffer most in the Syracusan war from Hermocrates the son of Hermon. And again, “It is probable that Hercules assisted the Syracusans, because Proserpine delivered up Cerberus to him ; and that he was offended at the Athenians for supporting the Ægesteans, who were descended from the Trojans, his mortal enemies, whose city he had sacked, in revenge for the injuries he had received from Laomedon.” He made these fine observations with the same discernment which put him upon finding fault with the language of Philistus, and censuring the writings of Plato and Aristotle.

For my part, I cannot but think, all emulation and jealousy about expression betrays a littleness of mind, and is the characteristic of a sophist : and when that spirit of contest attempts things inimitable, it is perfectly absurd. Since, therefore, it is impossible to pass over in silence those actions of Nicias which Thucydides and Philistus have recorded ; especially such as indicate his manners and disposition, which often lay concealed under the weight of his misfortunes ; we shall give an abstract from them of what appears most necessary, lest we should be accused of negligence or indolence.

* Timæus might have his vanity ; and, if he hoped to excel Thucydides, he certainly had. Yet Cicero and Diodorus speak of him as a very able historian. Longinus reconciles the censure and the praise. He says, sometimes you find him in the grand and sublime. But, blind to his own defects, he is much inclined to censure others, and is so fond of thinking out of the common road, that he often sinks into the utmost puerility.

† Xenarchus, the Peripatetic, was master to Strabo ; and Xenarchus, the comic poet, was author of several pieces of humour ; but we know no historian of that name.

‡ That is, Nicias. *Nice* signifies *victory*.

As for other matters not generally known, which are found scattered in historians, or in ancient inscriptions and decrees, we shall collect them with care ; not to gratify a useless curiosity, but by drawing from them the true lines of this general's character, to serve the purposes of real instruction.

The first thing I shall mention relating to him is the observation of Aristotle : that three of the most worthy men in Athens, who had a paternal regard and friendship for the people, were Nicias the son of Niceratus, Thucydides the son of Milesias, and Theramenes the son of Agnon. The last, indeed, was not so remarkable in this respect as the other two. For he had been reproached with his birth, as a stranger come from the Isle of Ceos ; and from his want of firmness, or rather versatility, in matters of government, he was called *the Buskin*.*

Thucydides was the oldest of the three ; and when Pericles acted a flattering part to the people, he often opposed him in behalf of the nobility. Though Nicias was much the younger man, he gained some reputation while Pericles lived, insomuch that he was several times his colleague in the war, and often commanded alone. But when Pericles died, he was soon advanced to the head of the administration, particularly by the influence of the rich and great, who hoped he would prove a barrier against the daring insolence of Cleon. He had, however, the good wishes of the people, and they contributed their share to his advancement.

It is true, Cleon had considerable interest, which he gained by making his court to the old men, and by his frequent donations to the poor citizens. Yet even many of those whom he studied to oblige, seeing his avarice and effrontery, came over to Nicias. For the gravity of Nicias had nothing austere or morose in it, but was mixed with a reverence for the people, in which fear seemed to be prevalent, and consequently was very agreeable to them. Indeed, he was naturally timid and cold-hearted ; but this defect was concealed by the long course of success with which fortune favoured his expeditions. And his timidity in the assemblies of the people, and dread of persons who made a trade of impeachments, was a popular thing. It contributed not a little to gain him the regards of the multitude, who are afraid of those that despise them, and love to promote those that fear them ; because in general the greatest honour they can hope to obtain is not to be despised by the great.

* The form of the buskin was such that it might be worn indifferently on either leg.

As Pericles kept the reins of government in his hands, by means of real virtue and by the force of his eloquence, he had no need to hold out false colours, or to use any artifice with the people. Nicias was deficient in those great endowments, but had superior riches ; and he applied them to the purposes of popularity. On the other hand, he could not, like Cleon, divert and draw the people by an easy manner and the sallies of buffoonery ; and therefore he amused them with the choruses of tragedy, with gymnastic exercises, and such like exhibitions, which far exceeded, in point of magnificence and elegance, all that went before him, and those of his own times too. Two of his offerings to the gods are to be seen at this day : the one a statue of Pallas dedicated in the citadel, which has lost part of its gilding ; the other a small chapel in the temple of Bacchus, under the tripods, which are commonly offered up by those who gain the prize in tragedy. Indeed, Nicias was already victorious in these exhibitions. It is said, that in a chorus of that kind one of his slaves appeared in the character of Bacchus. The slave was of an uncommon size and beauty, but had not yet arrived at maturity : and the people were so charmed with him, that they gave him long plaudits. At last, Nicias rose up and said he should think it an act of impiety to retain a person in servitude, who seemed by the public voice to be consecrated to a god ; and he enfranchised him upon the spot.

His regulations with respect to Delos are still spoken of as worthy of the deity who presides there. Before his time, the choirs which the cities sent to sing the praises of Apollo* landed in a disorderly manner, because the inhabitants of the island used to run up to the ship, and press them to sing before they were disembarked ; so that they were forced to strike up as they were putting on their robes and garlands. But when Nicias had the conduct of this ceremony, known by the name of *Theoria*, he landed first in the Isle of Rhenia with the choir, the victims, and all the other necessary preparations. He had taken care to have a bridge constructed before he left Athens, which should reach from that isle to Delos, and which was magnificently gilded, and adorned with garlands, rich stuffs, and tapestry. In the night he threw his bridge over the channel, which was not large ; and at break of day he marched over it at the head of the procession, with his choir richly habited, and

* There was a select band of music annually sent by the principal cities of Greece. The procession was called *Theoria*, and it was looked upon as an honourable commission to have the management of it.

singing hymns to the god. After the sacrifices, the games, and banquets were over, he consecrated a palm-tree of brass to Apollo, and likewise a field which he had purchased for 10,000 drachmas. The Delians were to lay out the income in sacrifices and feasting, and at the same time to pray for Apollo's blessing upon the founder. This is inscribed on a pillar, which he left in Delos as a monument of his benefaction. As for the palm-tree, it was broken by the winds, and the fragment falling upon a great statue* which the people of Naxos had set up, demolished it.

It is obvious that most of these things were done for ostentation, and with a view to popularity. Nevertheless, we may collect from the rest of his life and conduct that religion had the principal share in these dedications, and that popularity was but a secondary motive; for he certainly was remarkable for his fear of the gods, and, as Thucydides observes, he was pious to a degree of superstition. It is related in the dialogues of Pasiphon that he sacrificed every day, and that he had a diviner in his house, who in appearance inquired the success of the public affairs, but in reality was much oftener consulted about his own, particularly as to the success of his silver mines in the borough of Laurium, which in general afforded a large revenue, but were not worked without danger. He maintained there a multitude of slaves; and the greatest part of his fortune consisted in silver. So that he had many retainers, who asked favours, and were not sent away empty. For he gave not only to those who deserved his bounty, but to such as might be able to do him harm; and bad men found resources in his fears, as well as good men in his liberality. The comic poets bear witness to what I have advanced. Teleclides introduces a trading informer speaking thus:—"Charicles would not give one *mina* to prevent my declaring that he was the first fruits of his mother's amours; but Nicias, the son of Niceratus, gave me four. Why he did it I shall not say, though I know it perfectly well; for Nicias is my friend—a very wise man besides, in my opinion." Eupolis, in his *Marcia*, brings another informer upon the stage, who meets with some poor, ignorant man, and thus addresses him:—

"*Informer.* How long is it since you saw Nicias?

"*Poor man.* I never saw him before this moment, when he stood in the market-place.

* A statue which the Naxians had dedicated to Apollo. The pedestal has been discovered by some modern travellers.

"Informer. Take notice, my friends, the man confesses he has seen Nicias. And for what purpose could he see him but to sell him his vote? Nicias, therefore, is plainly taken in the fact.

"Poet. Ah, fools! do you think you can ever persuade the world that so good a man as Nicias was taken in malpractices?"

Cleon, in Aristophanes, says in a menacing tone, "I will outbawl the orators, and make Nicias tremble."* And Phrynichus glances at his excessive timidity, when, speaking of another person, he says, "I know him to be an honest man and a good citizen, one who does not walk the streets with a downcast look like Nicias."

With this fear of informers upon him, he would not sup or discourse with any of the citizens, or come into any of those parties which make the time pass so agreeably. When he was archon, he used to stay in court till night, being always the first that came, and the last that went away. When he had no public business upon his hands, he shut himself up at home, and was extremely difficult of access. And if any persons came to the gate, his friends went and begged them to excuse Nicias, because he had some affairs under consideration which were of great importance to the state.

The person who assisted him most in acting this farce, and gaining him the reputation of a man for ever intent upon business, was one Hiero, who was brought up in his house, had a liberal education, and a taste of music given him there. He passed himself for the son of Dionysius, surnamed Chalcus, some of whose poems are still extant, and who having conducted a colony into Italy, founded the city of Thurii. This Hiero transacted all the private business of Nicias with the diviners; and whenever he came among the people, he used to tell them what a laborious and miserable life Nicias led for their sakes. "He cannot go to the bath," said he, "or the table, but some affair of state solicits his attention; and he neglects his own concerns to take care of the public. He can scarce find time for repose till the other citizens have had their first sleep. Amidst these cares and labours his health declines daily, and his temper is so broken that his friends no longer approach him with pleasure; but he loses them too, after having spent his fortune in your service. Meanwhile other statesmen gain friends, and grow rich in their employments, and are sleek and merry in the steerage of government."

* This is in the Equites of Aristophanes, ver. 357. It is not Cleon, but Agoracritus, who speaks.

In fact, the life of Nicias was a life of so much care, that he might have justly applied to himself that expression of Agamemnon —

“ In vain the glare of pomp proclaims me master,
I'm servant of the people.”

Nicias perceived that the commons availed themselves of the services of those who were distinguished for their eloquence or capacity, but that they were always jealous and on their guard against their great abilities, and that they endeavoured to humble them, and to obstruct their progress in glory. This appeared in the condemnation of Pericles, the banishment of Damon, the suspicions they entertained of Antipho the Rhamnusian, but above all in the despair of Paches, who had taken Lesbos, and who, being called to give an account of his conduct, drew his sword and killed himself in open court.

Warned by these examples, he endeavoured to avoid such expeditions as he thought long and difficult ; and when he did take the command, he made it his business to proceed upon a sure plan. For this reason he was generally successful ; yet he ascribed his success to fortune, and took refuge under the wings of that divinity, contenting himself with a smaller portion of honour, lest envy should rob him of the whole.

The event showed the prudence of his conduct ; for, though the Athenians received many great blows in those times, none of them could be imputed to Nicias. When they were defeated by the Chalcideans in Thrace, Calliades and Xenophon had the command ; Demosthenes was general when they miscarried in Ætolia ; and when they lost one thousand men at Delium, they were under the conduct of Hippocrates. As for the plague, it was commonly thought to be occasioned by Pericles, who, to draw the burghers out of the way of the war, shut them up in the city, where they contracted the sickness by the change of situation and diet.

None of these misfortunes were imputed to Nicias ; on the contrary, he took Cythera, an island well situated for annoying Laconia, and at that time inhabited by Lacedæmonians. He recovered many places in Thrace which had revolted from the Athenians. He shut up the Megarensians within their walls, and reduced the island of Minoa. From thence he made an excursion soon after, and got possession of the port of Nisæa. He likewise made a descent upon the territories of Corinth, beat the troops of that state in a pitched battle, and killed

great numbers of them : Lycophron, their general, was among the slain.

He happened to leave there the bodies of two of his men, who were missed in carrying off the dead. But as soon as he knew it he stopped his course, and sent a herald to the enemy, to ask leave to take away those bodies. This he did, though there was a law and custom subsisting, by which those who desire a treaty for carrying off the dead give up the victory, and are not at liberty to erect a trophy. And indeed, those who are so far masters of the field, that the enemy cannot bury their dead without permission, appear to be conquerors because no man would ask that as a favour which he could command. Nicias, however, chose rather to lose his laurels than to leave two of his countrymen unburied.*

After he had ravaged the coast of Laconia, and defeated the Lacedæmonians who attempted to oppose him, he took the fortress of Thyreæ,† then held by the Æginetæ, made the garrison prisoners, and carried them to Athens. Demosthenes having fortified Pylos,‡ the Peloponnesians besieged it both by sea and land. A battle ensued, in which they were worsted, and about four hundred Spartans threw themselves into the isle of Sphacteria. The taking of them seemed, and indeed was, an important object to the Athenians. But the siege was difficult, because there was no water to be had upon the spot, and it was troublesome and expensive to get convoys thither ; in summer they were obliged to take a long circuit, and in winter it was absolutely impracticable. They were much perplexed about the affair, and repented their refusing the terms of peace which the Lacedæmonians had offered by their ambassadors.

It was through Cleon that the embassy did not take effect ; he opposed the peace, because Nicias was for it. Cleon was his mortal enemy, and seeing him countenance the Lacedæmonians, persuaded the people to reject their propositions by a

* The burying of the dead was a duty of great importance in the heathen world. The fable of the ghost of an unburied person not being allowed to pass the Styx is well known. About eight years after the death of Nicias, the Athenians put six of their generals to death, for not interring those soldiers that were slain in the battle of Arginusæ.

† Thyreæ was a fort situated between Laconia and the territory of the Argives. It belonged of right to the Lacedæmonians, but they gave it to the Æginetæ, who had been expelled their country.

‡ The Peloponnesians and their allies had entered Attica under the conduct of Agis, the son of Archidamus, and ravaged the country. Demosthenes, the Athenian general, made a diversion by seizing and fortifying Pylos. This brought Agis back to the defence of his own country.

formal decree. But when they found that the siege was drawn out to a great length, and that there was almost a famine in their camp, they expressed their resentment against Cleon. Cleon, for his part, laid the blame upon Nicias, alleging, that if the enemy escaped, it must be through his slow and timid operations: "Had I been the general," said he, "they could not have held out so long." The Athenians readily answered, "Why do not you now go against these Spartans?" And Nicias rose up and declared he would freely give up to him the command in the affair of Pylos: bade him take what forces he pleased; and, instead of showing his courage in words, where there was no danger, go and perform some actions worthy the attention of his country.

Cleon, disconcerted with the unexpected offer, declined it at first. But when he found the Athenians insisted upon it, and that Nicias took his advantage to raise a clamour against him, his pride was hurt, and he was incensed to such a degree, that he not only undertook the expedition, but declared he would in twenty days either put the enemy to the sword, or bring them alive to Athens.

The people laughed at his declaration,* instead of giving it any credit. Indeed, they had long been accustomed to divert themselves with the sallies of his vanity. One day, for instance, when a general assembly was to be held they had sat waiting for him a long time. At last he came, when their patience was almost spent, with a garland on his head, and desired them to adjourn until the day following; "For to-day," says he, "I am not at leisure; I have strangers to entertain, and I have sacrificed to the gods." The Athenians only laughed, and immediately rose up and dismissed the assembly.

Cleon, however, was so much favoured by fortune in this commission that he acquitted himself better than any one since Demosthenes. He returned within the time he had fixed, after he had made all the Spartans who did not fall in battle deliver up their arms; and brought them prisoners to Athens.

This reflected no small disgrace upon Nicias. It was considered as something worse than throwing away his shield, meanly to quit his command, and to give his enemy an opportunity of distinguishing himself by his abdication. Hence Aristophanes ridicules him in his comedy called *The Birds*. "By heaven, this is no time for us to slumber, or to imitate the

* The wiser sort hoped either to have the pleasure of seeing the Lacedæmonians brought prisoners to Athens, or else of getting rid of the importunate pretensions of Cleon.

lazy operations of Nicias." And in his piece entitled *The Husbandman*, he introduces two Athenians discoursing thus:—

"1st Athenian. I had rather stay at home and till the ground.

"2nd Athenian. And who hinders thee?

"1st Athenian. You hinder me. And yet I am willing to pay a thousand drachmas to be excused taking the commission.

"2nd Athenian. Let us see. Your thousand drachmas, with those of Nicias, will make two thousand. We will excuse you."

Nicias, in this affair, was not only unjust to himself, but to the state. He suffered Cleon by this means to gain such an ascendant as led him to a degree of pride and effrontery that was insupportable. Many evils were thus brought upon the commonwealth, of which Nicias himself had his full share. We cannot but consider it as one great corruption, that Cleon now banished all decorum from the general assembly. It was he who in his speeches first broke out into violent exclamations, threw back his robes, smote upon his thigh, and ran from one end of the *rostrum* to the other. This soon introduced such a licentiousness and disregard to decency among those who directed the affairs of state, that it threw the whole government into confusion.

At this time there sprung up another orator at Athens. This was Alcibiades. He did not prove so totally corrupt as Cleon. As it is said of the land of Egypt, that, on account of its extreme fertility—

"There plenty sows the fields with herbs salubrious,
But scatters many a baneful weed between ;"

so in Alcibiades there were very different qualities, but all in extremes ; and these extremes opened a door to many innovations. So that when Nicias got clear of Cleon, he had no time to establish any lasting tranquillity in Athens ; but as soon as he had got things into a safe track, the ambition of Alcibiades came upon him like a torrent, and bore him back into the storms of war.

It happened thus. The persons who most opposed the peace of Greece were Cleon and Brasidas. War helped to hide the vices of the former, and to show the good qualities of the latter. Cleon found opportunity for acts of injustice and oppression, and Brasidas for great and glorious actions. But after they both fell in the battle near Amphipolis, Nicias applied to the Lacedæmonians on one hand, who had been for some time desirous of peace, and to the Athenians on the other, now no

longer so warm in the pursuits of war. In fact, both parties were tired of hostilities, and ready to let their weapons drop out of their hands. Nicias, therefore, used his endeavours to reconcile them, and indeed to deliver all the Greeks from the calamities they had suffered, to bring them to taste the sweets of repose, and to re-establish a long and lasting reign of happiness. He immediately found the rich, the aged, and all that were employed in the culture of the ground, disposed to peace ; and by addressing himself to the rest, and expostulating with them respectively, he soon abated their ardour for war.

His next step was to give the Spartans hopes of an accommodation, and to exhort them to propose such measures as might effect it. They readily confided in him, because they knew the goodness of his heart ; of which there was a late instance in his humane treatment of their countrymen who were taken prisoners at Pylos, and who found their chains greatly lightened by his good offices.

They had already agreed to a suspension of arms for one year ; during which time they often met, and enjoyed again the pleasures of ease and security ; the company of strangers as well as nearer friends ; and expressed their mutual wishes for the continuance of a life undisturbed with the horrors of war. It was with great delight they heard the chorus in such strains as this :—

“ Arachne freely now has leave
Her webs around my spear to weave.”

They recollected with pleasure the saying, that in time of peace men are awaked not by the sound of the trumpet, but the crowing of the cock. They execrated those who said it was decreed by fate that the war should last three times nine years ;* and this free intercourse leading them to canvass every point, they at last signed the peace.†

It was now the general opinion that they were at the end of all their troubles. Nothing was talked of but Nicias. He, they said, was a man beloved of the gods, who, in recompense of his piety, had thought proper that the greatest and most desirable

* “I remember,” says Thucydides, “that throughout the whole war many maintained it was to last three times nine years. And if we reckon the first ten years of the war, the truce very short and ill observed that followed it, the treaties ill executed, and the war that was renewed thereupon, we shall find the oracle fully justified by the event.”

† Peace for fifty years was agreed upon and signed the year following ; but it was soon broken again.

of all blessings should bear his name. It is certain they ascribed the peace to Nicias, as they did the war to Pericles. And, indeed, the one did plunge them upon slight pretences into numberless calamities, and the other persuaded them to bury the greatest of injuries in oblivion, and to unite again as friends. It is therefore called the *Nicean* peace to this very day.

It was agreed in the articles that both parties should restore the towns and the prisoners they had taken ; and it was to be determined by lot which of them should do it first ; but according to Theophrastus, Nicias secured the lot by dint of money, so that the Lacedæmonians were forced to lead the way. As the Corinthians and Bœotians were displeased at these proceedings, and endeavoured, by sowing jealousies between the contracting powers, to renew the war, Nicias persuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to confirm the peace, and to support each other by a league offensive and defensive. This he expected would intimidate those who were inclined to fly off.

During these transactions, Alcibiades at first made it his business privately to oppose the peace. For he was naturally disinclined to inaction, and was moreover offended at the Lacedæmonians, on account of their attachment to Nicias, and their neglect and disregard of him. But when he found this private opposition ineffectual, he took another method. In a little time he saw the Athenians did not look upon the Lacedæmonians with so obliging an eye as before, because they thought themselves injured by the alliance which their new friends had entered into with the Bœotians, and because they had not delivered up Panactus and Amphipolis in the condition they found them. He therefore dwelt upon these points, and endeavoured to inflame the people's resentment. Besides, he persuaded, and at last prevailed upon the republic of Argos to send an embassy, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty with the Athenians.

When the Lacedæmonians had intelligence of this, they sent ambassadors to Athens with full powers to settle all matters in dispute. These plenipotentiaries were introduced to the senate, and their proposals seemed perfectly just and reasonable. Alcibiades, upon this, fearing they would gain the people by the same overtures, circumvented them by perfidious oaths and asseverations ; promising he would secure the success of their commission, if they would not declare that they came with full powers ; and assuring them, that no other method would be so effectual. They gave credit to his insinuations, and went over from Nicias to him.

Upon introducing them to the people, the first question he asked them was, whether they came with full powers. They denied it, as they were instructed. Then Alcibiades, beyond all their expectations, changing sides, called the senate to bear witness to their former declarations, and desired the people not to give the least credit or attention to such manifest prevaricators, who upon the same point asserted one thing one day, and another thing the next. Their confusion was inexpressible, as may well be imagined, and Nicias was struck dumb with grief and astonishment. The people, of course, sent immediately for the deputies of Argos, to conclude the treaty with them. But at that very moment there happened a slight shock of an earthquake, which, favourably for Nicias, broke up the assembly.

Next day they assembled again ; and Nicias, by exerting all his powers, with much difficulty prevailed upon them not to put the last hand to the league with Argos ; but, instead of that, to send him to Sparta,* where he assured them all would be well. When he arrived there, he was treated with great respect, as a man of honour, and one who had shown that republic great friendship : however, as the party that had favoured the Bœotians was the strongest, he could effect nothing.† He returned, therefore, not only with disrepute and disgrace, but was apprehensive of worse consequences from the Athenians, who were greatly chagrined and provoked, that, at his persuasion, they had set free so many prisoners, and prisoners of such distinction. For those brought from Pylos were of the first families in Sparta, and had connections with the greatest personages there. Notwithstanding this, they did not express their resentment in any act of severity ; they only elected Alcibiades general, and took the Mantineans and Eleans, who had quitted the Lacedæmonian interest, into league with them, along with the Argives. They then sent a marauding party to Pylos, from thence to make excursions into Laconia. Thus the war broke out afresh.

As the quarrel between Nicias and Alcibiades rose daily to a greater height, the ostracism was proposed. To this the people have recourse at certain periods, and by it they expel for ten years any one who is suspected for his authority, or envied for his wealth. Both parties were greatly alarmed at the danger, not doubting that it would fall to the lot of one of them.

* There were others joined in commission with him.

† Nicias insisted that the Spartans should renounce their alliance with the Bœotians, because they had not acceded to the peace.

The Athenians detested the life and manners of Alcibiades, and at the same time they dreaded his enterprising spirit, as we have related more at large in his life. As for Nicias, his riches exposed him to envy, and the rather, because there was nothing social or popular in his manner of living ; on the contrary, his recluse turn seemed owing to an inclination for oligarchy, and perfectly in a foreign taste. Besides, he had combated their opinions, and by making them pursue their own interest against their inclination, was of course become obnoxious. In one word, the whole was a dispute between the young who wanted war, and the old who were lovers of peace. The former endeavoured to make the ostracism to fall upon Nicias, and the latter on Alcibiades—

“ But in seditions bad men rise to honour.”

The Athenians being divided into two factions, the subtlest and most profligate of wretches gained ground. Such was Hyperbolus of the ward of Perithois ; a man whose boldness was not owing to any well-grounded influence, but whose influence was owing to his boldness ; and who disgraced the city by the credit he had acquired.

This wretch had no apprehensions of banishment by the honourable suffrage of the ostracism, because he knew himself fitter for a gibbet. Hoping, however, that if one of these great men were banished, he should be able to make head against the other, he dissembled not his joy at this spirit of party, but strove to exasperate the people against both. Nicias and Alcibiades taking notice of his malice, came to a private interview, in which they agreed to unite their interests ; and by that means avoided the ostracism themselves, and turned it upon Hyperbolus.

At first the people were pleased, and laughed at the strange turn things had taken ; but upon recollection, it gave them great uneasiness to think that the ostracism was dishonoured by its falling upon a person unworthy of it. They were persuaded there was a dignity in that punishment ; or rather, that to such men as Thucydides and Aristides it was a punishment ; whereas to Hyperbolus it was an honour which he might be proud of, since his profligacy had put him on the same list with the greatest patriots. Hence Plato, the comic poet, thus speaks of him, “ No doubt his crimes deserved chastisement, but a very different chastisement from that which he received. The shell was not designed for such wretches as he.”

In fact, no one afterwards was banished by it. He was the last, and Hipparchus the Cholargian, a relation of the tyrant,

was the first. From this event it appears how intricate are the ways of Fortune, how incomprehensible to human reason. Had Nicias run the risk of the ostracism, he would either have expelled Alcibiades, and lived afterwards in his native city in full security; or if it had been carried against him, and he had been forced to retire, he would have avoided the impending stroke of misery, and preserved the reputation of a wise and experienced general. I am not ignorant that Theophrastus says Hyperbolus was banished in the contest between Phæax and Alcibiades, and not in that with Nicias. But most historians give it as above related.

About this time the Ægesteans and Leontines sent an embassy, to desire the Athenians to undertake the Sicilian expedition. Nicias opposed it, but was overruled by the address and ambition of Alcibiades. Indeed, Alcibiades had previously gained the assembly by his discourses, and corrupted the people to such a degree with vain hopes, that the young men in their places of exercise, and the old men in the shops and other places where they conversed, drew plans of Sicily, and exhibited the nature of its seas, with all its ports and bearings on the side next Africa. For they did not consider Sicily as the reward of their operations, but only as a place of arms; from whence they were to go upon the conquest of Carthage; nay, of all Africa, and to make themselves masters of the seas within the pillars of Hercules.

While they were so intent upon this expedition, Nicias had not many on his side, either among the commons or nobility, to oppose it. For the rich, fearing it might be thought they were afraid to serve in person, or to be at the expense of fitting out men of war, sat silent, contrary to their better judgment. Nicias, however, opposed it indefatigably, nor did he give up his point after the decree was passed for the war, and he was elected general along with Alcibiades and Lamachus, and his name first in the suffrages. In the first assembly that was held after that, he rose to dissuade them, and to protest against their proceedings. In conclusion, he attacked Alcibiades, for plunging the state in a dangerous and foreign war, merely with a view to his own emolument and fame. But his arguments had no effect. They thought a man of his experience the fitter to conduct this enterprise; and that nothing could contribute more to its success, than to unite his caution with the fiery spirit of Alcibiades, and the boldness of Lamachus. Therefore, they were still more confirmed in their choice. Besides, Demostratus, who of all the orators took most pains to encourage the

people to that war, rose and said, he would soon cut off all the excuses of Nicias ; and immediately he proposed and carried an order, that the generals should have a discretionary power to lay plans and put them in execution, both at home and abroad.

It is said, indeed, that the priests strongly opposed the expedition. But Alcibiades had other diviners to set against them ; and he gave it out, that certain ancient oracles promised the Athenians great glory in Sicily. The envoys, too, who were sent to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, returned with an answer importing that the Athenians would take all the Syracusans.

If any of the citizens knew of bad presages, they took care to conceal them, lest they should seem to pronounce anything inauspicious of an enterprise which their countrymen had too much at heart. Nor would any warnings have availed, when they were not moved at the most clear and obvious signs. Such was the mutilation of the *Hermæ*,* whose heads were all struck off in one night, except that which was called the Mercury of Andocides, and which had been consecrated by the tribe of Egis, before the door of the person just named. Such also was the pollution of the altar of the twelve gods. A man got astride upon it, and there emasculated himself with a stone. In the temple of Delphi there was a golden statue of Pallas, which the Athenians had erected upon a palm-tree of brass, in commemoration of the victory over the Medes. The crows came and beaked it for several days, and pecked off the golden fruit of the tree.

The Athenians, however, said these were only fictions propagated at Delphi at the instigation of the Syracusans. A certain oracle ordered them to fetch a priestess of Minerva from Clazomenæ ; and when she came, they found her name was *Hesychia*, by which the Deity seemed to exhort them to continue in quiet. Meton the astrologer, whether he was struck with these signs, or whether by the eye of human reason he discovered the impending danger (for he had a command in the army), feigned himself mad, and set fire to his house. Others say, he used no pretence to madness, but having burned down his house in the night, addressed himself next morning to the assembly in a forlorn condition, and desired the citizens, in compassion for his misfortune, to excuse his son, who was to have gone out captain of a galley to Sicily.

The genius of Socrates, on this occasion, warned that wise

* The *Hermæ*, or statues of Mercury, were square figures placed by the Athenians at the gates of their temples and the doors of their houses.

man by the usual tokens, that the expedition would prove fatal to Athens. He mentioned this to several of his friends and acquaintance, and the warning was commonly talked of. Many were likewise greatly discouraged on account of the time when the fleet happened to be sent out. The women were then celebrating the feasts of Adonis, during which there were to be seen in every quarter of the city images of the dead and funeral processions ; the women accompanying them with dismal lamentations. So that those who took any account of omens were full of concern for the fate of their countrymen. They trembled to think that an armament fitted at so vast an expense, and which made so glorious an appearance, would soon lose its consequence.

As for Nicias, he showed himself a wise and worthy man, in opposing the expedition while it was under consideration ; and in not suffering himself, after it was resolved upon, to be dazzled by vain hopes, or by the eminence of his post, so as to depart from his opinion. Nevertheless, when he could neither divert the people from their purpose, nor by all his efforts get himself excused from taking the command, but was placed, as it were by violence, at the head of a great army, it was then no time for caution and timid delay. He should not then have looked back from his ship like a child ; or by a multitude of protestations that his better counsels were overruled, have disheartened his colleagues, and abated the ardour of his troops, which alone could give him a chance of success. He should have immediately attacked the enemy with the utmost vigour, and made Fortune blush at the calamities she was preparing.

But his conduct was very different. When Lamachus proposed to make a descent close by Syracuse, and to give battle under the walls ; and Alcibiades was of opinion they should first reduce the cities that owned the authority of Syracuse, and then march against the principal enemy ; Nicias opposed both. He gave it for coasting along Sicily without any act of hostility, and showing what an armament they had. Then he was for returning to Athens, after having left a small reinforcement with the Ægesteans, as a taste of the Athenian strength. Thus he intercepted all their schemes, and broke down their spirits.

The Athenians, soon after this, called Alcibiades home to take his trial ; and Nicias remained, joined indeed with another in commission, but first in authority. There was now no end of his delays. He either made an idle parade of sailing along the coast, or else sat still deliberating ; until the spirit of confidence which buoyed up his own troops was evaporated and gone, as

well as the consternation with which the enemy were seized at the first sight of his armament.

It is true, before the departure of Alcibiades, they had sailed towards Syracuse with sixty galleys, fifty of which they drew up in line of battle before the harbour ; the other ten they sent in to reconnoitre the place. These advanced to the foot of the walls, and, by proclamation, invited the Leontines to return to their old habitations.* At the same time they happened to take one of the enemy's vessels, with the registers on board, in which all the Syracusans were set down according to their tribes. They used to be kept at some distance from the city in the temple of Jupiter Olympus, but were then sent for to be examined, in order to the forming a list of persons able to bear arms. When these registers were brought to the Athenian generals, and such a prodigious number of names were displayed, the diviners were greatly concerned at the accident ; thinking the prophecy, that the Athenians should take all the Syracusans, might possibly in this have its entire accomplishment. It is asserted, however, that it had its accomplishment on another occasion, when Calippus the Athenian, after he had killed Dion, made himself master of Syracuse.

When Alcibiades quitted Sicily with a small retinue, the whole power devolved upon Nicias. Lamachus, indeed, was a man of great courage and honour, and he freely exposed his person in time of action ; but his circumstances were so mean, that whenever he gave in his accounts of a campaign, he charged a small sum for clothes and sandals. Nicias, on the contrary, besides his other advantages, derived great authority from his eminence both as to wealth and name. We are told, that on another occasion, when the Athenian generals met in a council of war, Nicias desired Sophocles the poet to give his opinion first, because he was the oldest man. " It is true," said Sophocles, " I am older in respect of years ; but you are older in respect of service." In the same manner he now brought Lamachus to act under his orders, though he was the abler general ; and his proceedings were for ever timid and dilatory. At first he made the circuit of the island with his ships at a great distance from the enemy ; which served only to raise their spirits. His first operation was to lay siege to the little town of

* They ordered proclamation to be made by a herald, that the Athenians were come to restore the Leontines to their country, in virtue of the relation and alliance between them. In consequence of which, such of the Leontines as were in Syracuse, had nothing to do but to repair to the Athenians, who would take care to conduct them.

Hybla ; and not succeeding in that affair, he exposed himself to the utmost contempt. Afterwards he retired to Catana, without any other exploit than that of ruining Hyccara, a small place subject to the barbarians. Lais the courtesan, who was then a girl, is said to have been sold among the prisoners, and carried from thence to Peloponnesus.

Towards the end of the summer, he was informed, the Syracusans were come to that degree of confidence that they designed to attack him. Nay, some of their cavalry rode up to his trenches, and asked his troops, in great derision, whether they were not rather come to settle in Catana themselves than to settle the Leontines in their old habitations.

Nicias, now, at last, with much difficulty determined to sail for Syracuse. In order to land his forces, and encamp them without running any risk, he sent a person to Catana before him, who, under pretence of him being a deserter, should tell the Syracusans, that if they wanted to surprise the enemy's camp, in a defenceless state, and make themselves masters of their arms and baggage, they had nothing to do but to march to Catana with all their forces on a day that he mentioned. For the Athenians, he said, passed the greatest part of their time within the walls ; and such of the inhabitants as were friends to the Syracusans had determined, upon their approach, to shut in the enemy, and to burn their fleet. At the same time, he assured them, their partisans were very numerous, and waited with impatience for their arrival.*

This was the best act of generalship Nicias performed in Sicily. Having drawn by this means the enemy's force out of Syracuse, so that it was left almost without defence, he sailed thither from Catana, made himself master of their ports, and encamped in a situation where the enemy could least annoy him by that in which their chief strength consisted, and where he could easily exert the strength in which he was superior.

The Syracusans, at their return from Catana, drew up before the walls, and Nicias immediately attacked and beat them. They did not, however, lose any great number of men, because their cavalry stopped the Athenians in the pursuit. As Nicias had broken down all the bridges that were upon the river, he gave Hermocrates opportunity to encourage the Syracusans, by observing, that it was ridiculous in Nicias to contrive means to prevent fighting ; as if fighting was not the business he came

* Nicias knew he could not make a descent from his ships near Syracuse, because the inhabitants were prepared for him ; nor could he go by land for want of cavalry.

about. Their consternation, indeed, was so great, that, instead of the fifteen generals they had, they chose three others, and the people promised, upon oath, to indulge them with a power of acting at discretion.

The temple of Jupiter Olympius was near the camp, and the Athenians were desirous to take it, because of the quantity of its rich offerings in gold and silver. But Nicias industriously put off the attack, and suffered a Syracusan garrison to enter it; persuaded that the plunder his troops might get there would be of no service to the public, and that he should bear all the blame of the sacrilege.

The news of the victory soon spread over the whole island, but Nicias made not the least improvement of it. He soon retired to Naxos,* and wintered there; keeping an army on foot at a great expense, and effecting but little; for only a few Sicilians came over to him. The Syracusans recovered their spirits again so as to make another excursion to Catana, in which they ravaged the country, and burned the Athenian camp. Meanwhile all the world censured Nicias, and said, that by his long deliberations, delays, and extreme caution, he lost the time for action. When he did act, there was nothing to be blamed in the manner of it: for he was as bold and vigorous in executing as he was timid and dilatory in forming a resolution.

When he had once determined to return with his forces to Syracuse, he conducted all his movements with so much prudence, expedition, and safety, that he had gained the peninsula of Thapsos, disembarked his men, and got possession of Epipolæ, before the enemy knew of his approach. He beat on this occasion some infantry that were sent to succour the fort, and made three hundred prisoners; he likewise routed their cavalry, which was thought invincible.

But what most astonished the Sicilians, and appeared incredible to the Greeks, was, that in a short space of time he enclosed Syracuse with a wall, a city not less than Athens, and much more difficult to be surrounded by such a work, by reason of the unevenness of the ground, the vicinity of the sea, and the adjoining marshes. Add to this, that it was almost effected by a man whose health was by no means equal to such an undertaking, for he was afflicted with the stone; and if it was not entirely finished, we must impute it to that circumstance.

I cannot, indeed, but admire the attention of the general and the invincible courage of the soldiers, in effecting what they did,

* A city between Syracuse and Catana.

in this as well as in other instances. Euripides, after their defeat and death, wrote this epitaph for them :

“Eight trophies these from Syracuse obtain'd
Ere yet the gods were partial.”

And in fact we find that the Athenians gained not only eight, but several more victories of the Syracusans, till the gods or fortune declared against them, at a time when they were arrived at the highest pitch of power. Nicias forced himself beyond what his health would allow, to attend most of the actions in person : but when his distemper was very violent he was obliged to keep his bed in the camp, with a few servants to wait upon him.

Meantime, Lamachus, who was now commander-in-chief, came to an engagement with the Syracusans, who were drawing a cross wall from the city, to hinder the Athenians from finishing theirs. The Athenians generally having the advantage, went in too disorderly a manner upon the pursuit ; and it happened one day that Lamachus was left almost alone to receive the enemy's cavalry. Callicrates, an officer remarkable for his strength and courage, advanced before them, and gave Lamachus the challenge ; which he did not decline. Lamachus received the first wound, which proved mortal, but he returned it upon his adversary, and they fell both together. The Syracusans remaining masters of the body and arms of Lamachus, carried them off ; and without losing a moment, marched to the Athenian camp, where Nicias lay without any guards to defend him. Roused, however, by necessity and the sight of his danger, he ordered those about him to set fire to the materials before the intrenchments which were provided for the machines, and to the machines themselves. This put a stop to the Syracusans, and saved Nicias, together with the Athenian camp and baggage. For as soon as they beheld the flames rising in vast columns between the camp and them, they retired.

Nicias now remained sole commander, but he had reason to form the most sanguine hopes of success. The cities declared for him, and ships laden with provisions came daily to his camp ; his affairs being in so good a train that the Sicilians strove which should first express their attachment. The Syracusans themselves, despairing of holding out much longer, began to talk of proposals for an accommodation. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedæmon to their succour, being informed of the wall with which they were enclosed, and the extremities they were reduced to, continued his voyage, not with

a view to Sicily, which he gave up for lost, but, if possible, to save the Greek cities in Italy. For the renown of the Athenians was not very extensive ; it was reported that they carried all before them, and that they had a general whose prudence, as well as good fortune, rendered him invincible. Nicias himself, contrary to his nature, was suddenly elated by his present strength and success ; the more so because he was persuaded, upon private intelligence from Syracuse, as well as more public application, that the city was about to capitulate. Hence it was that he took no account of the approach of Gylippus, nor placed any regular guard to prevent his coming ashore : so that, screened by this utter negligence, Gylippus landed with safety. It was at a great distance from Syracuse, and he found means to collect a considerable army. But the Syracusans were so far from knowing or expecting his arrival, that they had assembled that very day to consider of articles of capitulation ; nay, some were for coming to terms that moment, before the city was absolutely enclosed. For there was but a small part of the wall unfinished, and all the necessary materials were upon the spot.

At this critical and dangerous instant Gongylus arrived from Corinth with one galley of three banks of oars. The whole town was in motion, as might naturally be expected. He told them Gylippus would soon come, with several other ships, to their succour. They could not give entire credit to Gongylus ; but while they were weighing the matter, a messenger arrived from Gylippus, with orders that they should march out and join him. Immediately upon this, they recovered their spirits, and armed. Gylippus soon arrived, and put his troops in order of battle. As Nicias was drawing up against him, Gylippus rested his arms, and sent a herald with an offer of safe-conduct to the Athenians, if they would quit Sicily. Nicias did not deign to give him any answer. But some of the soldiers asked him, by way of ridicule, whether the Syracusans were become so strong by the arrival of one Lacedæmonian cloak and staff, as to despise the Athenians who had lately knocked off the fetters of three hundred Spartans and released them, though all abler men, and better haired than Gylippus !

Timeæus says the Sicilians set no great value upon Gylippus. For in a little time they discovered his sordid avarice and meanness ; and, at his first appearance, they laughed at his cloak and head of hair. Yet the same historian relates, that as soon as Gylippus showed himself, the Sicilians gathered about him, as birds do about an owl, and were ready to follow him

wherever he pleased. And the latter account has more truth in it than the former. In the staff and cloak they beheld the symbols of the Spartan dignity, and therefore repaired to them. Thucydides also tells us, that Gylippus was the only man who saved Sicily; and Phylistus, a citizen of Syracuse, and an eye-witness of those transactions, does the same.

In the first engagement the Athenians had the advantage, and killed some of the Syracusans. Gongylus of Corinth fell at the same time. But the next day, Gylippus showed them of what consequence experience in a general is; with the very same arms and horses, and on the same spot, by only altering his order of battle,* he beat the Athenians, and drove them to their camp. Then taking the stones and other materials which they had brought for their wall, he continued the cross wall of the Syracusans, and cut through theirs in such a manner, that if they gained a victory, they could make no advantage of it.

Encouraged by this success, the Syracusans manned several vessels; and beating about the country with their cavalry and allies, they made many prisoners. Gylippus applied to the towns in person, and they readily listened to him and lent him all the assistance in their power. So that Nicias, relapsing into his former fears and despondence, at the sight of such a change of affairs, applied to the Athenians by letter, either to send another army, or to recall that which he had; and at the same time he desired them by all means to dismiss him from the command, on account of his infirmities.

The Athenians had designed some time before to send another army into Sicily; but the envy which the first success of Nicias had excited, had made them put it off upon several pretences. Now, however, they hastened the succours. They likewise came to a resolution, that Demosthenes should go in the spring with a respectable fleet, and that Eurymedon,† without waiting till winter was over, should carry money to pay the troops, and acquaint Nicias that the people had pitched upon Euthydemus and Menander, officers who then served under him, to assist him in his charge.

Meantime, Nicias was suddenly attacked both by sea and land. At first, part of his fleet was worsted; but in the end he proved victorious, and sunk many of the enemy's ships. He

* He had the address to impute the late defeat to himself, and to assure his men that their behaviour was irreproachable. He said that by ranging them the day before between walls, where their cavalry and archers had not room to act, he had prevented their conquering.

† Eurymedon went with ten galleys.

could not, however, succour his troops by land, as the exigence of the case required. Gylippus made a sudden attack upon the fort of Plemmyrium, and took it ; by which means he became master of the naval stores of the Athenians, and a great quantity of treasure, which had been lodged there. Most of the garrison were either killed or taken prisoners. But, what was still a greater blow to Nicias, by the loss of this place he lost the convenience of his convoys. For, while he had Plemmyrium, the communication was safe and easy ; but when that was taken, his supplies could not reach him without the utmost difficulty, because his transports could not pass without fighting the enemy's ships, which lay at anchor under the fort.

Besides, the Syracusans thought their fleet was beaten, not by any superior strength they had to combat, but by their going in a disorderly manner upon the pursuit. They therefore fitted out a most respectable fleet, in order for another action. Nicias, however, did not choose at present to try the issue of another naval fight, but declared it very absurd, when a large reinforcement of ships and fresh troops were hastening to him under the conduct of Demosthenes, to hazard a battle with a force so much inferior and so ill provided.

On the other hand, Menander and Euthydemus, who were appointed to a temporary share in the command, were led by their ambition and jealousy of Demosthenes and Nicias to strike some extraordinary stroke, in order to be beforehand with the one, and to outdo the most shining actions of the other. Their pretence was the glory of Athens, which they said would be utterly lost if they showed any fear of the Syracusan fleet. Thus they overruled Nicias and gave battle. But they were soon defeated by a stratagem of Ariston the Corinthian, who was a most excellent seaman.* Their left wing, as Thucydides relates, was entirely routed, and they lost great numbers of their men. This loss threw Nicias into the greatest consternation. He reflected upon the checks he had met with while he had the sole command, and that he had now miscarried again through the obstinacy of his colleagues.

While he was indulging these reflections, Demosthenes appeared before the fort with a very gallant and formidable

* Ariston advised the captains of the galleys to have refreshments ready for their men on the shore, while the Athenians imagined they went into the town for them. The Athenians, thus deceived, landed and went to dinner likewise. In the meantime, the Syracusans, having made an expeditious meal, re-embarked, and attacked the Athenian ships when there was scarce anybody to defend them.

fleet. He had 73 galleys,* on board of which were 5000 heavy armed soldiers; and archers, spearmen, and slingers, to the number of 3000. Their armour glittered, the streamers waved, and the prows of the ships were adorned with a variety of rich paintings. He advanced with loud cheers and martial music, and the whole was conducted in a theatrical manner, to strike terror into the enemy.

The Syracusans were ready to fall into despair again. They saw no end or truce to their miseries; their labours and conflicts were all to begin anew, and they had been prodigal of their blood to no purpose. Nicias, however, had not long to rejoice at the arrival of such an army. At the first interview, Demosthenes wanted him to attack the enemy, that they might take Syracuse by an immediate and decisive stroke, and return again with glory to Athens. Nicias, astonished at his heat and precipitation, desired him to adopt no rash or desperate measures. He assured him, delay would make against the enemy, since they were already in want of money, and their allies would soon quit both them and their cause. Consequently when they began to feel the hard hand of necessity, they would apply to him again, and surrender upon terms, as they were going to do before. In fact, Nicias had a private understanding with several persons in Syracuse, who advised him to wait with patience, because the inhabitants were tired out with the war, and weary of Gylippus; and when their necessities should become a little more pressing, they would give up the dispute.

As Nicias mentioned these things in an enigmatical manner, and did not choose to speak out, it gave occasion to the other generals to accuse him of timidity. "He is coming upon us," said they, "with his old delays, dilatory, slow, over-cautious counsels, by which the vigour and ardour of his troops were lost. When he should have led them on immediately, he waited till their spirit was gone, and the enemy began to look upon them with contempt." The other officers, therefore, listened to Demosthenes, and Nicias at last was forced to give up the point.

Upon this, Demosthenes put himself at the head of the land forces, and attacked Epipolæ in the night. As he came upon the guards by surprise, he killed many of them, and routed those who stood upon their defence. Not content with this advantage, he proceeded till he came to the quarter where the

* Diodorus Siculus makes them 310.

Bœotians were posted. These closed their ranks, and first charged the Athenians, advancing with levelled pikes and with all the alarm of voices ; by which means they repulsed them, and killed a considerable number. Terror and confusion spread through the rest of the army. They who still kept their ground, and were victorious, were encountered by those that fled ; and they who were marching down from Epipolæ to support the foremost bands, were put in disorder by the fugitives ; for they fell foul of one another, and took their friends for enemies. The confusion, indeed, was inexpressible, occasioned by their fears, the uncertainty of their movements, and the impossibility of discerning objects as they could have wished, in a night which was neither quite dark nor sufficiently clear ; the moon being near her setting, and the little light she gave rendered useless by the shade of so many bodies and weapons moving to and fro. Hence the apprehensions of meeting with an enemy made the Athenians suspect their friends, and threw them into the utmost perplexity and distress. They happened, too, to have the moon upon their backs, which casting their shadows before them, both hid the number of their men and the glittering of their arms ; whereas the reflection from the shields of the enemy made them appear more numerous, and better armed than they really were. At last they turned their backs, and were entirely routed. The enemy pressed hard upon them on all sides, and killed great numbers. Many others met their death in the weapons of their friends. Not a few fell headlong from the rocks or walls. The rest were dispersed about the fields, where they were picked up the next morning by the cavalry, and put to the sword. The Athenians lost 2000 men in this action ; and very few returned with their arms to the head-quarters.

This was a severe blow to Nicias, though it was what he expected ; and he inveighed against the rash proceedings of Demosthenes. That general defended himself as well as he could, but at the same time gave it as his opinion, that they should embark and return home as fast as possible. "We cannot hope," said he, "either for another army, or to conquer with the forces we have. Nay, supposing we had the advantage, we ought to relinquish a situation which is well known at all times to be unhealthy for the troops, and which now we find still more fatal from the season of the year." It was, indeed, the beginning of autumn ; numbers were sick, and the whole army was spirited.

Nevertheless, Nicias could not bear to hear of returning

home ; not that he was afraid of any opposition from the Syracusans, but he dreaded the Athenian tribunals and unfair impeachments there. He therefore replied, that there was no great and visible danger at present ; and if there were, he had rather die by the hands of the enemy than those of his fellow citizens. In this respect he greatly differed from Leo of Byzantium, who afterwards said to his countrymen, "I had rather die with you than for you." Nicias added, that if it should appear necessary to encamp in another place, they might consider of it at their leisure.

Demosthenes urged the matter no farther, because his former counsels had proved unfortunate. And he was more willing to submit, because he saw others persuaded that it was the dependence Nicias had on his correspondence in the town which made him so strongly oppose their return to Athens. But as fresh forces came to the assistance of the Syracusans, and the sickness prevailed more and more in the Athenian camp, Nicias himself altered his opinion, and ordered the troops to be ready to embark.

Everything accordingly was prepared for embarkation, and the enemy paid no attention to these movements, because they did not expect them. But in the night there happened an eclipse of the moon, at which Nicias and all the rest were struck with a great panic, either through ignorance or superstition. As for an eclipse of the sun, which happens at the conjunction, even the common people had some idea of its being caused by the interposition of the moon : but they could not easily form a conception, by the interposition of what body the moon, when at the full, should suddenly lose her light, and assume such a variety of colours. They looked upon it, therefore, as a strange and preternatural phenomenon, a sign by which the gods announced some great calamity.

Anaxagoras was the first who with any clearness and certainty showed in what manner the moon was illuminated and overshadowed. But he was an author of no antiquity,* nor was his treatise much known ; it was confined to a few hands, and communicated with caution and under the seal of secrecy. For the people had an aversion to natural philosophers and those who were then called *Meteoroleschæ* (*inquirers into the nature of meteors*), supposing that they injured the divine power and providence by ascribing things to insensate causes, unintelligent powers, and inevitable necessity. Protagoras was

* He was contemporary with Pericles, and with Nicias too.

forced to fly on account of such a system ; and Anaxagoras was thrown into prison, from whence Pericles with great difficulty got him delivered. Even Socrates,* who meddled not with physics, lost his life for philosophy. At last the glory of Plato enlightened the world, and his doctrine was generally received, both on account of his life, and his subjecting the necessity of natural causes to a more powerful and divine principle. Thus he removed all suspicion of impiety from such researches, and brought the study of mathematics into fashion. Hence it was that his friend Dion, though the moon was eclipsed at the time of his going from Zacynthus against Dionysius, was not in the least disconcerted, but pursued his voyage, and expelled the tyrant.

It was a great unhappiness to Nicias that he had not then with him an able diviner. Stilbides, whom he employed on such occasions, and who used to lessen the influence of his superstition, died a little before. Supposing the eclipse a prodigy, it could not, as Philochorus observes, be inauspicious to those who wanted to fly, but on the contrary, very favourable ; for whatever is transacted with fear seeks the shades of darkness ; light is the worst enemy. Besides, on other occasions, as Auticlides† remarks, in his Commentaries, there were only three days that people refrained from business after an eclipse of either sun or moon ; whereas Nicias wanted to stay another entire revolution of the moon, as if he could not see her as bright as ever, the moment she passed the shadow caused by the interposition of the earth.

He quitted, however, almost every other care, and sat still observing his sacrifices, till the enemy came upon him, and invested his walls and intrenchments with their land forces, as well as circled the harbour with their fleet. Not only the men from the ships, but the very boys from fishing-boats and small barks, challenged the Athenians to come out, and offered them every kind of insult. One of these boys, named Heraclides, who was of one of the best families in Syracuse, advancing too far, was pursued by an Athenian vessel, and very near being taken. His uncle Pollichus, seeing

* Socrates tells us in his apology, that he had been accused of a criminal curiosity in prying into the heavens and into the abysses of the earth. However, he could not be said to lose his life for his philosophy so much as for his theology.

† This should probably be read Anticlides ; for he seems to be the same person whom Plutarch has mentioned in the life of Alexander, and in his Isis and Osiris,

his danger, made up with ten galleys which were under his command; and others, in fear for Pollichus, advanced to support him. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Syracusans were victorious, and Eurymedon and numbers more were killed.

The Athenians not brooking any farther delay, with great indignation called upon their generals to lead them off by land. For the Syracusans, immediately after the victory, blocked up the harbour. Nicias, however, would not agree to it; thinking it a cruel thing to abandon so many ships of burden and near 200 galleys. He therefore embarked his best infantry, and a select number of archers and spearmen, and manned with them 110 galleys, as far as his rowers would supply them. The rest of his troops he drew up on the shore; abandoning his great camp and his walls which reached to the temple of Hercules. The Syracusans had not for a long time offered the usual sacrifices to that deity, but now both the priests and generals went to observe the solemnity.

Their troops were embarked; and the inspectors of the entrails promised the Syracusans a glorious victory, provided they did not begin the attack, but only repelled force with force; for Hercules, they said, was victorious only in standing upon the defensive, and waiting to be attacked. Thus instructed, the Syracusans set out.

Then the great sea-fight began, remarkable not only for the vigour that was exerted, but for its causing as great a variety of passion and agitation in the spectators as in the combatants themselves; for those who looked on from the shore could discern every different and unexpected turn it took. The Athenians suffered not more harm from the enemy than they did from their own order of battle and the nature of their armament. Their ships were all crowded together, and were heavy and unwieldy besides, while those of the enemy were so light and nimble, that they could easily change their situation, and attack the Athenians on all sides. Add to this, that the Syracusans were provided with a vast quantity of stones which seldom failed of their effect, wherever discharged; and the Athenians had nothing to oppose to them but darts and arrows, the flight of which was so diverted by the motion of the ship that few of them could reach their mark. The enemy was put upon this expedient by Ariston the Corinthian, who, after he had given great proofs of his courage and ability, fell the moment that victory was declaring for the Syracusans.

After this dreadful defeat and loss, there was no possibility of

escaping by sea. At the same time the Athenians saw it was extremely difficult to save themselves by land. In this despair they neither opposed the enemy, who were seizing their vessels close to the shore, nor demanded their dead. They thought it not so deplorable a circumstance to leave the dead without burial as to abandon the sick and wounded ; and though they had great miseries before their eyes, they looked upon their own case as still more unhappy, since they had many calamities to undergo, and were to meet the same fate at last.

They did, however, design to begin their march in the night. Gylippus saw the Syracusans employed in sacrifices to the gods, and in entertaining their friends on account of the victory, and the feast of Hercules ; and he knew that neither entreaty nor force would prevail with them to leave the joys of festivity, and oppose the enemy's flight. But* Hermocrates found out a method to impose upon Nicias. He sent persons in whom he could confide, who were to pretend that they came from the old correspondents of that general within the town ; and that their business was to desire him not to march in the night, because the Syracusans had laid several ambushes for him, and seized all the passes. The stratagem had its effect. Nicias sat still, in the simplicity of his heart, fearing he should really fall into the enemy's snares. In the morning the enemy got out before him. Then indeed they did seize all the difficult passes ; they threw up works against the fords, broke down the bridges, and planted their cavalry wherever the ground was open and even, so that the Athenians could not move one step without fighting.

These poor men lay close all that day and the night following, and then began their march with tears and loud lamentations, as if they had been going to quit their native country, not that of the enemy. They were, indeed, in great want of provisions, and it was a miserable circumstance to leave their sick and wounded friends and comrades behind them ; yet they looked upon their present misfortunes as small in comparison of those they had to expect.

But among the various spectacles of misery, there was not one more pitiable than Nicias himself, oppressed as he was with sickness, and unworthily reduced to hard diet and a scanty provision, when his infirmities required a liberal supply.

* Hermocrates was sensible of what importance it was to prevent Nicias from retiring by land. With an army of 40,000 men which he had still left, he might have fortified himself in some part of Sicily, and renewed the war.

Yet, in spite of his ill-health, he acted and endured many things which the most robust underwent not without difficulty. All this while his troops could not but observe it was not for his own sake, or any attachment to life, that he submitted to such labours, but that he seemed still to cherish hope on their account. When sorrow and fear brought others to tears and complaints, if Nicias ever dropped a tear among the rest, it was plain he did it from a reflection on the miserable and disgraceful issue of the war, which he hoped to have finished with great honour and success. Nor was it only the sight of his present misery that moved them, but when they recollected the speeches and warnings by which he endeavoured to dissuade the people from the expedition, they could not but think his lot much more unhappy than he deserved. All their hopes, too, of assistance from heaven abandoned them, when they observed that so religious a man as Nicias, one who had thought no expense too great in the service of the gods, had no better fortune than the meanest and most profligate person in the army.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, he still endeavoured, by the tone of his voice, by his looks, and every expression of kindness to the soldiers, to show himself superior to his misfortunes. Nay, through a march of eight days, though attacked and harassed all the way by the enemy, he preserved his own division of the army tolerably entire, till Demosthenes was taken prisoner, and the troops he had the conduct of were surrounded, after a brave resistance, at a small place called Polyzelium. Demosthenes then drew his sword and stabbed himself; but as the enemy came immediately upon him and seized him, he had not time to give himself the finishing stroke.

Some Syracusans rode up to Nicias with this news, and he sent a few of his own cavalry to know the certainty. Finding, from their account, that Demosthenes and his party were really prisoners, he begged to treat with Gylippus, and offered hostages for paying the Syracusans the whole charge of the war, on condition they would suffer the Athenians to quit Sicily. The Syracusans rejected the proposals with every mark of insolence and outrage, and fell again upon a wretched man, who was in want of all manner of necessities.*

He defended himself, however, all that night, and continued

* But were these brave people to blame? Was it not natural for them to use every means in their power to harass and weaken an enemy, who had ambitiously considered their country as a property?

his march the next day to the river Asinarus. The enemy galled his troops all the way, and, when they came to the banks of the river, pushed them in. Nay, some, impatient to quench their burning thirst, voluntarily plunged into the stream. Then followed a most cruel scene of blood and slaughter, the poor wretches being massacred as they were drinking. At last, Nicias threw himself at the feet of Gylippus, and said, "Gylippus, you should show some compassion amidst your victory. I ask nothing for myself. What is life to a man whose misfortunes are even proverbial? But, with respect to the other Athenians, methinks you should remember that the chance of war is uncertain, and with what humanity and moderation they treated you when they were victorious."

Gylippus was somewhat affected both at the sight of Nicias and at his speech. He knew the good offices he had done the Lacedæmonians at the last treaty of peace; and he was sensible it would contribute greatly to his honour if he could take two of the enemy's generals prisoners. Therefore, raising Nicias from the ground, he bade him take courage, and gave orders that the other Athenians should have quarter. But as the order was slowly communicated, the number of those that were saved was greatly inferior to that of the slain, though the soldiers spared several unknown to their officers.

When the Syracusans had collected all the prisoners they could find into one body, they dressed some of the tallest and straightest trees that grew by the river, as trophies, with the arms they had taken from the enemy; after which they marched homeward, with garlands on their heads, and with their horses adorned in the most splendid manner, having first shorn those of the Athenians. Thus they entered the city, as it were, in triumph, after the happy termination of the sharpest dispute that ever subsisted between Grecians, and one of the most complete victories the sun ever beheld, gained by a glorious and persevering exertion of firmness and valour.

A general assembly of the people of Syracuse and of its allies was then held, in which Eurycles* the orator proposed a decree, that, in the first place, the day they took Nicias should be observed as a festival, with the title of *Asinaria*, from the river where that great event took place, and that it should be entirely employed in sacrifices to the gods. This was the twenty-seventh day of the month *Carneus*, called by the Athenians *Metagitnion*.† As to the prisoners, he proposed that the Athenian

* Diodorus Siculus calls him Diocles.

† Though it is not easy, as we have observed in a former note, to bring

servants and all the allies should be sold for slaves ; that such of the Athenians as were freemen, and the Sicilians their partisans, should be confined to the quarries ; and that the generals should be put to death. As the Syracusans accepted the bill, Hermocrates rose up and said it was a more glorious thing to make a good use of a victory than to gain one. But his motion raised a great ferment in the assembly. Gylippus expressing his desire to have the Athenian generals, that he might carry them prisoners to Lacedæmon, the Syracusans, now grown insolent with their good fortune, loaded him with reproaches. Indeed, they could not well bear his severity and Lacedæmonian rigour in command while the war lasted. Besides, as Timæus observes, they had discovered in him an avarice and meanness which was a disease he inherited from his father, Cleandrides, who was banished for taking of bribes. The son, out of the thousand talents which Lysander sent by him to Sparta, purloined thirty, and hid them under the tiles of his house. Being detected in it, he fled his country with the utmost disgrace.

Timæus does not agree with Philistus and Thucydides, that Demosthenes and Nicias were stoned to death by the Syracusans. Instead of that, he tells us that Hermocrates sent one of his people to acquaint those two generals with what was passing in the assembly, and the messengers being admitted by the guards before the court was dismissed, the unhappy men despatched themselves. Their bodies were thrown without the gates, and lay there exposed to the view of all those who wanted to enjoy the spectacle. I am informed that a shield, said to be that of Nicias, is shown to this day in one of the temples at Syracuse, the exterior texture of which is gold and purple, and executed with surprising art.

As to the other Athenians, the greatest part perished in the quarries to which they were confined by diseases and bad diet, for they were allowed only a pint of barley a-day, and half-a-pint of water. Many of those who were concealed by the soldiers, or escaped by passing as servants, were sold for slaves, and stigmatised with the figure of a horse upon their foreheads. Several of these, however, submitted to their fate with patience ; and the modesty and decency with which they behaved were such that they were either soon released, or treated in their servitude with great respect by their masters.

Some there were who owed their preservation to Euripides.

the Grecian months to tally with ours, yet we agree in this place with Dacier, that September is probably meant, or part of it ; because Plutarch had said above that the sickness had set in with autumn.

Of all the Grecians, his was the muse whom the Sicilians were most in love with. From every stranger that landed in their island they gleaned every small specimen or portion of his works, and communicated it with pleasure to each other. It is said that on this occasion a number of Athenians, upon their return home, went to Euripides, and thanked him in the most respectful manner for their obligations to his pen ; some having been enfranchised for teaching their masters what they remembered of his poems, and others having got refreshments, when they were wandering about after the battle, for singing a few of his verses. Nor is this to be wondered at, since they tell us that when a ship from Caunus, which happened to be pursued by pirates, was going to take shelter in one of their ports, the Sicilians at first refused to admit her ; upon asking the crew whether they knew any of the verses of Euripides, and being answered in the affirmative, they received both them and their vessel.

The Athenians, we are told, did not give credit to the first news of this misfortune, the person who brought it not appearing to deserve their notice. It seems a stranger who landed in the Piræus, as he sat to be shaved in a barber's shop, spoke of it as an event already known to the Athenians. The barber no sooner heard it but, before the stranger could communicate it to any other person, he ran into the city, and applying to the magistrates, informed them of the news in open court. Trouble and dismay seized all that heard it. The magistrates immediately summoned an assembly, and introduced the informant. There he was interrogated of whom he had the intelligence, and as he could give no clear and pertinent answer, he was considered as a forger of false news and a public incendiary.* In this light he was fastened to the wheel, where he bore the torture for some time, till at length some credible persons arrived, who gave a distinct account of the whole disaster ; with so much difficulty did the misfortunes of Nicias find credit among the Athenians, though he had often forewarned them that they would certainly happen.

* Casaubon would infer from hence, that the Athenians had a law for punishing the forgers of false news. But this person was punished, not so much as a forger of false news as a public incendiary, who, by exciting groundless terrors in the people, aided and abetted their enemies.

MARCUS CRASSUS.

MARCUS CRASSUS, whose father had borne the office of censor, and been honoured with a triumph, was brought up in a small house with his two brothers. These married while their parents were living, and they all ate at the same table. This, we may suppose, contributed not a little to render him sober and moderate in his diet. Upon the death of one of his brothers, he took the widow and children into his house. With respect to women, there was not a man in Rome more regular in his conduct ; though, when somewhat advanced in years, he was suspected of a criminal commerce with one of the vestal virgins named Licini. Licini was impeached by one Plotinus, but acquitted upon trial. It seems the vestal had a beautiful country-house, which Crassus wanting to have at an under-price, paid his court to the lady with great assiduity, and thence fell under that suspicion. His judges, knowing that avarice was at the bottom of all, acquitted him of the charge of corrupting the vestal : and he never let her rest till she had sold him her house.

The Romans say Crassus had only that one vice of avarice, which cast a shade upon his many virtues. He appeared, indeed, to have but one bad quality, because it was so much stronger and more powerful than the rest, that it quite obscured them. His love of money is very evident from the size of his estate, and his manner of raising it. At first it did not exceed 300 talents. But, during his public employments, after he had consecrated the tenth of his substance to Hercules, given an entertainment to the people, and a supply of bread corn to each citizen for three months, he found, upon an exact computation, that he was master of 7100 talents. The greatest part of this fortune, if we may declare the truth, to his extreme disgrace, was gleaned from war and from fires ; for he made a traffic of the public calamities. When Sylla had taken Rome, and sold the estates of those whom he had put to death, which he both reputed and called the spoils of his enemies, he was desirous to involve all persons of consequence in his crime, and he found in Crassus a man who refused no kind of gift or purchase.

Crassus observed also how liable the city was to fires, and how frequently houses fell down ; which misfortunes were owing to the weight of the buildings, and their standing so close

together.* In consequence of this, he provided himself with slaves who were carpenters and masons, and went on collecting them till he had upwards of 500. Then he made it his business to buy houses that were on fire, and others that joined upon them; and he commonly had them at a low price, by reason of the fear and distress the owners were in about the event. Hence, in time, he became master of great part of Rome. But though he had so many workmen, he built no more for himself than one house in which he lived. For he used to say that those who love building will soon ruin themselves, and need no other enemies.

Though he had several silver mines, and lands of great value, as well as labourers who turned them to the best advantage, yet it may be truly asserted, that the revenue he drew from these was nothing in comparison of that produced by his slaves. Such a number had he of them, and all useful in life, readers, amanuenses, bookkeepers, stewards, and cooks. He used to attend to their education, and often gave them lessons himself; esteeming it a principal part of the business of a master to inspect and take care of his servants, whom he considered as the living instruments of economy. In this he was certainly right, if he thought, as he often said, that other matters should be managed by servants, but the servants by the master. Indeed, economics, so far as they regard only inanimate things, serve only the low purposes of gain: but where they regard human beings, they rise higher, and form a considerable branch of politics. He was wrong, however, in saying that no man ought to be esteemed rich who could not with his own revenue maintain an army. For as Archidamus observes, it never can be calculated what such a monster as war will devour. Nor consequently can it be determined what fortune is sufficient for its demands. Very different in this respect were the sentiments of Crassus from those of Marius. When the latter had made a distribution of lands among his soldiers at the rate of fourteen acres a man, and found that they wanted more, he said, "I hope no Roman will ever think that portion of land too little which is sufficient to maintain him."

It must be acknowledged that Crassus behaved in a generous manner to strangers; his house was always open to them. To which we may add, that he used to lend money to his friends without interest. Nevertheless, his rigour in demanding his money the very day it was due often made his appearing favour

* The streets were narrow and crooked, and the houses chiefly of wood, after the Gauls had burned the city.

a greater inconvenience than the paying of interest would have been. As to his invitations, they were most of them to the commonalty ; and though there was a simplicity in the provision, yet at the same time there was a neatness and unceremonious welcome, which made it more agreeable than more expensive tables.

As to his studies, he cultivated oratory, most particularly that of the bar, which had its superior utility. And though he might not be reckoned equal, upon the whole, to the first-rate speakers, yet by his care and application he exceeded those whom nature had favoured more. For there was not a cause, however unimportant, to which he did not come prepared. Besides, when Pompey and Cæsar and Cicero refused to speak, he often rose and finished the argument in favour of the defendant. This attention of his to assist any unfortunate citizen was a very popular thing : and his obliging manner in his common address had an equal charm. There was not a Roman, however mean and insignificant, whom he did not salute, or whose salutation he did not return by name.

His knowledge of history is also said to have been extensive, and he was not without a taste of Aristotle's philosophy. In the latter branch he was assisted by a philosopher named Alexander ; * a man who gave the most glorious proofs of his disinterested and mild disposition, during his acquaintance with Crassus. For it is not easy to say whether his poverty was greater when he entered or when he left his house. He was the only friend that Crassus would take with him into the country ; on which occasions he would lend him a cloak for the journey, but demand it again when he returned to Rome. The patience of that man is truly admirable, particularly if we consider that the philosophy he professed did not look upon poverty as a thing indifferent.† But this was a later circumstance in the life of Crassus.

When the faction of Cinna and Marius prevailed, it soon appeared that they were not returning for any benefit to their country, but for the ruin and destruction of the nobility. Part of them they had already caught and put to death ; among whom were the father and brother of Crassus. Crassus himself, who was then a very young man, escaped the present danger.

* Xylander conjectures this might be Alexander the Milesian, who is called Polyhistor and Cornelius ; and who is said to have flourished in the times of Sylla.

† Aristotle's, as well as Plato's philosophy, reckoned riches among real blessings, and looked upon them as conducive to virtue.

But, as he saw the tyrants had their hunters beating about for him on all sides, he took three friends and ten servants with him, and fled with surprising expedition into Spain ; where he had attended his father during his prætorship, and gained himself friends. There, too, he found the minds of men full of terror, and all trembling at the cruelty of Marius, as if he had been actually present ; therefore he did not venture to apply to any of his friends in public. Instead of that, he went into a farm which Vibius Placianus had contiguous to the sea, and hid himself in a spacious cave there. From thence he sent one of his servants to sound Vibius ; for his provisions already began to fail. Vibius, delighted to hear that he had escaped, inquired the number of people he had with him, and the place of his retreat. He did not wait on him in person, but sent immediately for the steward of that farm, and ordered him to dress a supper every day, carry it to the foot of the rock, and then retire in silence. He charged him not to be curious in examining into the affair, under pain of death ; and promised him his freedom, if he proved faithful in his commission.

The cave is at a small distance from the sea. The surrounding rocks which form it admit only a slight and agreeable breath of air. A little beyond the entrance, it is astonishingly lofty, and the compass of it is so great, that it has several large caverns, like a suite of rooms, one within another. It is not destitute either of water or light. A spring of excellent water flows from the rock ; and there are small natural apertures, where the rocks approach each other at top, through which daylight is admitted. By reason of the thickness of the rock, the interior air too is pure and clear ; the foggy and moist part of it being carried away with the stream.

Crassus, in this asylum, had his provisions brought every day by the steward, who neither saw nor knew him or his people, though he was seen by them, because they knew his time, and watched for his coming. And he brought not only what was sufficient for use, but delicacies too for pleasure. For Vibius had determined to treat his friend with all imaginable kindness. He reflected that some regard should be had to his time of life, and as he was very young, that he should have some particular indulgences on that account. To supply his necessities only, he thought, looked more like constraint than friendship. Therefore, one day he took with him two handsome maid servants, and walked towards the sea. When they came to the cave, he showed them the entrance, and bade them go boldly in, for they had nothing to fear. Crassus, seeing them,

was afraid his retreat was discovered, and began to examine who they were, and what they wanted. They answered as they were instructed, that they were come to seek their master who lay concealed there. Upon which, he perceived it was only a piece of gallantry in Vibius, who studied to divert him. He received the damsels, therefore, and kept them all the time he stayed there ; and they served to carry his messages to Vibius, and to bring answers back. Fenestella says,* he saw one of them when she was very old, and often heard her tell the story with pleasure.

Crassus spent eight months in this privacy, at the end of which he received intelligence that Cinna was dead. Then he immediately made his appearance, and numbers repaired to him ; out of which he selected a corps of 2500 men. With these he visited the cities ; and most historians agree that he pillaged one called Malacca. But others tell us he absolutely denied it, and disclaimed the thing in the face of those who spread the report. After this, he collected vessels, and passed over into Africa, to join Metellus Pius, an officer of great reputation, who had raised considerable forces. He did not, however, stay long there. Upon some difference with Metellus, he applied himself to Sylla, who received him with pleasure, and ranked him among his principal friends.

When Sylla was returned to Italy, he chose to keep the young men he had about him in exercise, and sent them upon various commissions. Crassus he despatched to levy troops among the Marsi ; and, as his passage lay through the enemy's country, he demanded guards of Sylla. "I give thee for guards," said he, in an angry tone, "I give thee for guards, thy father, thy brother, thy friends, thy relations, who have been unjustly and abominably sacrificed, and whose cause I am going to revenge upon their murderers."

Crassus, roused and inflamed with these words, passed boldly through the midst of the enemy : raised a considerable army, and showed his attachment, as well as exerted his courage, in all Sylla's conflicts. Hence, we are told, came his first competition and dispute with Pompey for the palm of honour. Pompey was the younger man, and had this great disadvantage besides, that his father was more hated than any man in Rome. Yet his genius broke forth with such lustre on these occasions, that Sylla treated him with more respect than he generally showed

* Fenestella wrote several books of annals. He might very well have seen one of these slaves when she was old ; for he did not die till the sixth year of the reign of Tiberius, nor until he was seventy years of age.

much older men, or even those of his own rank. For he used to rise up at his approach, and uncover his head, and salute him as *Imperator*.

Crassus was not a little piqued at these things, though there was no reason for his pretensions. He had not the capacity of Pompey; besides, his innate blemishes, his avarice and meanness, robbed his actions of all their grace and dignity. For instance, when he took the city of Tuder in Umbria, he was supposed to have appropriated the greatest part of the plunder to his own use, and it was represented in that light to Sylla. It is true, in the battle fought near Rome, which was the greatest and most decisive of all, Sylla was worsted, his troops repulsed, and a number of them killed. Meantime, Crassus, who commanded the right wing, was victorious, and having pursued the enemy till night, sent to inform Sylla of his success, and to demand refreshments for his men.

But in the time of the proscriptions and confiscations, he lost all the credit he had gained; buying great estates at an under-price, and often begging such as he had cast his eye upon. Nay, in the country of the Brutians, he is said to have proscribed one man without Sylla's order, merely to seize his fortune. Upon this, Sylla gave him up, and never after employed him in any public affair.

Though Crassus was an exquisite flatterer himself, yet no man was more easily caught by flattery than he. And what was very particular, though he was one of the most covetous men in the world, no man was more averse to, or more severe against, such that resembled him.* But it gave him still more pain to see Pompey so successful in all his employments, to see him honoured with a triumph, and saluted by the citizens with the title of *the Great*. One day he happened to be told Pompey the Great was coming; upon which he answered with a scornful smile, "How big is he?"

As he despaired of rising to an equality with him in war, he betook himself to the administration; and by paying his court, by defending the impeached, by lending money, and by assisting and canvassing for persons who stood for offices, he gained an authority and influence equal to that which Pompey acquired by his military achievements. There was something remarkably peculiar in their case. The name and interest of Pompey were

* It was observed by the late ingenious Mr. Shenstone, that a coxcomb will be the first to find out and expose a coxcomb. Men of the same virtues love each other for the sake of those virtues; but sympathy in vice or folly has generally a contrary effect.

much greater in Rome when he was absent and * distinguishing himself in the field. When present, Crassus often carried his point against him. This must be imputed to the state and grandeur that he affected : he seldom showed himself in public, or appeared in the assemblies of the people ; and he very rarely served those who made application to him ; imagining by that means he should have his interest entire when he wanted it himself. Crassus, on the contrary, had his services ever ready for those who wanted them ; he constantly made his appearance ; he was easy of access ; his life was spent in business and good offices ; so that his open and obliging manner got the better of Pompey's distance and state.

As to dignity of person, powers of persuasion, and engaging turn of countenance, we are told they were the same. But the emulation with which Crassus was actuated never carried him on to hatred and malignity. It is true, he was concerned to see Pompey and Cæsar held in greater honour, but he did not add rancour and malevolence to his ambition ; though Cæsar, when he was taken by pirates, in Asia, and strictly confined, cried out, "O Crassus, what pleasure will it give thee to hear that I am taken !" However, they were afterwards upon a footing of friendship ; and when Cæsar was going to set out for his command in Spain, and his creditors were ready to seize his equipage, because he could not satisfy them, Crassus was kind enough to deliver him from the embarrassment, by giving security for eight hundred and thirty talents.

Rome was at this time divided into three parties, at the head of which were Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus. For, as to Cato, his reputation was greater than his power, and his virtue more admired than followed. The prudent and steady part of the city were for Pompey ; the violent and the enterprising gave in to the prospects of Cæsar ; Crassus steered a middle course, and availed himself of both. Crassus, indeed, often changed sides, and neither was a firm friend nor an implacable enemy. On the contrary, he frequently gave up either his attachments or resentments indifferently when his interest required it : insomuch that in a short space of time he would appear either in support or opposition to the same persons and laws. He had some influence founded in love, and some in fear ; but fear was the more serviceable principle of the two. An instance of the latter we have in Licinius, who was very troublesome to the magistrates and leading orators of his time. When he was

* This was not peculiar to Pompey : it was the case of Marius and many others.

asked, why he did not attack Crassus among the rest, he answered, "He wears wisps upon his horns." * So the Romans used to serve a vicious bull, for a warning to all persons that passed him.

When the gladiators took up arms and ravaged Italy, their insurrection was commonly called the war of Spartacus. Its origin was this: One Lentulus Batiatus kept at Capua a number of gladiators, the greatest part of which were Gauls and Thracians; men not reduced to that employment for any crimes they had committed, but forced upon it by the injustice of their master. Two hundred of them, therefore, agreed to make their escape. Though the plot was discovered, threescore and eighteen of them, by their extreme vigilance, were beforehand with their master, and sallied out of town, having first seized all the long knives and spits in a cook's shop. On the road they met some waggons carrying a quantity of gladiators' arms to another place. These they seized, and armed themselves with them. Then they retired to a place of strength, and made choice of three leaders. † The first was Spartacus, whose extraction was from one of those Tracian *hordes* called Nomades. This man had not only a dignity of mind, a strength of body, but a discernment and civility superior to his fortune. In short, he was more of a Greek than a barbarian, in his manner.

It is said that when he was first brought to Rome to be sold, a serpent was seen twisted about his face as he slept. His wife, who was of the same tribe, having the gift of divination, and being a retainer besides to the orgies of Bacchus, said it was a sign that he would rise to something very great and formidable, the result of which would be happy. ‡ This woman still lived with him, and was the companion of his flight.

The fugitives first distinguished themselves by defeating a party sent against them from Capua; whose arms they seized and wore with great satisfaction; throwing away those of gladiators, as dishonourable and barbarous. Clodius the prætor § was then sent against them from Rome, with a body of 3000 men; and he besieged them on the hill where they were posted. There was but one ascent, which was very narrow and rugged, and there he placed a sufficient guard. The rest was

* This passed into a proverb.

† Spartacus, Chrisus, and Enomaus. This war began B.C. 71.

‡ His end was happy for a gladiator. He died fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

§ Clodius Glaber.

all a craggy precipice, but covered with wild vines. The fugitives cut off such of the branches as might be of most service, and formed them into a ladder of sufficient strength, and so long as to reach the plain beneath. By the help of this ladder they all got down safe, except one. This man remained above only to let down their arms ; and when he had done that, he descended after them.

The Romans knowing nothing of this manœuvre, the gladiators came upon their rear, and attacked them so suddenly, that they fled in great consternation, and left their camp to the enemy. Spartacus was there joined by the herdsmen and shepherds of the country, men of great vigour and remarkably swift of foot. Some of these he clad in heavy armour, and the rest served as reconnoitring parties and for other purposes of the light-armed.

The next general sent against these gladiators was Publius Varinus. They first routed his lieutenant, Furius, who engaged them with a detachment of 2000 men. After this Spartacus watched the motions of Cossinius, who was appointed assistant and chief counsellor to Varinus, and was now marching against him with a considerable force. His vigilance was such, that he was very near taking Cossinius in the bath at Salenæ; and though he did escape with much difficulty, Spartacus seized his baggage. Then he pursued his steps, and took his camp, having first killed great numbers of the Romans. Cossinius himself was among the slain. His subsequent operations were equally decisive. He beat Varinus in several engagements, and took his *lictors*, and the very horse he rode.

By this time he was become great and formidable. Nevertheless his views were moderate : he had too much understanding to hope the conquest of the Romans ; and therefore led his army to the Alps, with an intention to cross them, and then dismiss his troops, that they might retire to their respective countries, some to Thrace, and some to Gaul. But they, relying upon their numbers, and elated with success, would not listen to his proposal. Instead of that, they laid Italy waste as they traversed it.

It was no longer the indignity and disgrace of this revolt that afflicted the senate ; it was fear and danger ; and they now employed both the consuls in this war, as one of the most difficult and important they ever had upon their hands. Gelius, one of the consuls, having surprised a body of Germans, who were so rash and self-opinionated as to separate from the troops of Spartacus, defeated them entirely and put them to the sword.

Lentulus, the other consul, endeavoured to surround Spartacus, with his forces, which were very considerable. Spartacus met him fairly in the field, beat his lieutenants, and stripped them of their baggage. He then continued his route towards the Alps, but was opposed by Cassius, who commanded in that part of Gaul which lay about the Po, and came against him at the head of 10,000 men. A battle ensued, in which Cassius was defeated, with great loss, and saved himself not without difficulty.

No sooner were the senate informed of these miserable proceedings than they expressed the greatest indignation against the consuls, and gave orders that they should be superseded in the command. Crassus was the person they pitched upon as a successor, and many of the nobility served under him, as volunteers, as well on account of his political influence as from personal regard. He went and posted himself in the Picine, in order to intercept Spartacus, who was to march that way. At the same time he sent his lieutenant, Mummius, round with two legions; giving him strict orders only to follow the enemy, and by no means to hazard either battle or skirmish. Mummius, however, upon the first promising occasion, engaged Spartacus, and was entirely routed. Numbers fell upon the field of battle, and many others threw away their arms, and fled for their lives.

Crassus gave Mummius a severe reprimand, and new armed his men, but insisted withal that they should find security for their keeping those arms they were now entrusted with. The first 500, who had shown the greatest marks of cowardice, he divided into fifty parts, and put one in each decade to death, to whose lot it might happen to fall; thus reviving an ancient custom of military punishment which had been long disused. Indeed, this kind of punishment is the greatest mark of infamy, and being put in execution in sight of the whole army, is attended with many awful and affecting circumstances.

After thus chastising his men, he led them against the enemy. But Spartacus turned back and retired through Lucania to the sea. The rebel happening to find a number of vessels in harbour belonging to the Cilician pirates, resolved to make an attempt upon Sicily; where, at the head of 2000 men, he thought he could easily rekindle the Servile war, which had but lately been smothered,* and which wanted little fuel to make it flame out again. Accordingly the pirates entered into

* It was but nineteen years before that a period was put to the Servile war in Sicily.

agreement with him ; but they had no sooner taken his money than they broke their engagement, and sailed another way. Spartacus, thus deceived, left the sea, and intrenched himself in the peninsula of Rhegium.

When Crassus came up, he observed that the nature of the place suggested what measures he should take ; in consequence of which he determined to build a wall across the isthmus. This, he knew, would at once keep his soldiers from idleness, and cut off the enemy's supplies. The work was great and difficult : nevertheless he finished it beyond all expectation, in a short time ; drawing a trench from sea to sea 300 furlongs in length, fifteen feet in breadth, and as many in depth ; he built a wall also above it of considerable height and strength.

Spartacus at first made a jest of the undertaking. But, when his plunder began to fail, and he wanted to go farther, he saw the wall before him, and at the same time was conscious that the peninsula was exhausted. He watched his opportunity, however, in a snowy and tempestuous night, to fill up the trench with earth, wood, and other materials : and so passed it with a third part of his army. Crassus now began to fear that Spartacus, in the spirit of enterprise, would march immediately to Rome. But when he observed that a number of the enemy, upon some difference or other, separated and encamped upon the Lucanian lake, he recovered his spirits. The water of this lake is said to change in such a manner as sometimes to be sweet and fresh, and at other times so salt that it is impossible to drink it. Crassus fell upon this party, and drove them from the lake, but could not do any great execution, or continue the pursuit far, because Spartacus made his appearance, and rallied the fugitives.

Crassus now repented of having written to the senate that it was necessary to recall Lucullus from Thrace, and Pompey from Spain ; and hastened to finish the war himself. For he was sensible that the general who should come to his assistance would rob him of all the honour. He resolved, therefore, in the first place, to attack the troops which had revolted, and formed a separate body, under the command of two officers named Cannicius and Castus. With this view, he sent a corps of 6000 men before to seize an eminence which he thought would be of service to him, but ordered them to conduct their enterprise with all imaginable secrecy. They observed his directions ; and to conceal their march the better, covered their helmets and the rest of their arms. Two women, however, who were sacrificing before the enemy's camp, discovered them ; and

they would probably have met their fate, had not Crassus advanced immediately, and given the enemy battle. This was the most obstinate action in the whole war. Twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy were killed, of which number there were only two found wounded in the back ; the rest died in their ranks, after the bravest exertions of valour.

Spartacus, after this defeat, retired towards the mountains of Petelia ; and Quintus, one of Crassus's officers, and Scrophia the quæstor, marched after, to harass his rear. But, Spartacus facing about, the Romans fled in the most dastardly manner, and with great difficulty carried off the quæstor, who was wounded. This success was the ruin of Spartacus. It gave the fugitives such spirits, that they would no longer decline a decisive action, or be obedient to their officers ; but as they were upon the road, addressed them with their swords in their hands, and insisted on marching back through Lucania with the utmost expedition, to meet the Romans, and face Crassus in the field.

This was the very thing that Crassus desired. He was informed that Pompey was approaching ; and of the many speeches to the people on occasion of the ensuing election, in which it was asserted that this laurel belonged to him, and that, as soon as he made his appearance, he would by some decisive stroke put an end to the war.

Crassus, therefore, hastened to give that stroke himself, and, with the same view, encamped very near the enemy. One day when he had ordered his soldiers to dig a trench, the gladiators attacked them as they were at work. Numbers came up continually on both sides to support the combatants : and at last Spartacus seeing what the case necessarily required, drew out his whole army. When they brought him his horse, he drew his sword and killed him, saying at the same time, " If I prove victorious, I shall have horses at command : if I am defeated, I shall have no need of this." His aim was to find Crassus, and he made his way through showers of darts and heaps of the slain. He did not, indeed, reach him, but he killed with his own hand two centurions who ventured to engage him. At last, those that seconded him fled. He, however, still stood his ground, and though surrounded by numbers, fought with great gallantry, till he was cut in pieces.

Crassus, on this occasion, availed himself of every circumstance with which Fortune favoured him ; he performed every act of generalship ; he exposed his person in the boldest manner ; yet he was only wreathing a laurel for the brows of

Pompey. Pompey met, it seems, those who escaped out of the field, and put them to the sword. In consequence of which, he wrote to the senate, that Crassus had indeed beaten the fugitive gladiators in a pitched battle; but that it was he who had cut up the war by the roots.

Pompey, on his return to Rome, triumphed in a magnificent manner for his conquest of Sertorius and Spain. As for Crassus, he did not pretend to ask for the greater triumph; and even the less, which is led upon foot, under the name of an ovation, seemed to have no propriety or decorum in the conquest of fugitive slaves. The greater triumph is entered into with warlike and dreadful pomp, while the lesser (termed an *ovation*) has more the appearance of a festival than of war.

Pompey was immediately called to the consulship; and though Crassus had interest enough of his own to encourage him to hope for the same honour, yet he scrupled not to solicit his good offices. Pompey received the application with pleasure; for he was desirous by all means to have Crassus under an obligation to him. He therefore readily espoused his cause; and, at last, when he made his speech to the people, said, he was as much indebted to them for the colleague they had given him as for their favour to himself. However, the same good understanding did not long continue; they differed about almost every article that came before them; and those disputes and altercations prevented their doing anything considerable during their whole consulship. The most remarkable thing was, that Crassus offered a great sacrifice to Hercules, entertained the people at 10,000 tables, and gave them a supply of bread-corn for three months.

When they held one of the last assemblies before they quitted their charge, a Roman knight, named Onatius Aurelius, who had spent most of his time in a retired manner in the country, and was a man of no great note, mounted the rostrum, and gave the people an account of a vision that had appeared to him. "Jupiter," said he, "appeared to me in a dream, and commanded me to inform you in this public manner, that you are not to suffer the consuls to lay down their office before they are reconciled." He had no sooner ended his speech than the people insisted that they should be reconciled. Pompey stood without making any motion towards it, but Crassus went and offered him his hand. "I am not ashamed, my fellow-citizens," said he, "nor do I think it beneath me, to make the first advances to Pompey, whom you distinguished with the name of *Great*, while he was but a beardless youth,

and whom you honoured with a triumph before he was a senator."

These were the only memorable things in the consulate of Crassus. As for his censorship, it passed without anything worth mentioning.* He made no inquisition into the lives and manners of the senators; he did not review the equestrian order, or number the people. Lutacius Catulus, one of the best-natured men in the world, was his colleague; and it is said, that when Crassus wanted to adopt a violent and unjust measure, I mean the making Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus strongly opposed it; and hence arose that difference, in consequence of which they resigned their charge.

When the great conspiracy of Catiline, which brought the commonwealth to the verge of destruction, broke out, Crassus was suspected of having some concern in it. Nay, there was one who named him among the conspirators; but no one gave credit to his information.† It is true, Cicero, in one of his orations, openly accuses both Crassus and Cæsar of that crime. But that oration did not appear in public till both those great men were dead. On the other hand, the same Cicero, in the oration he delivered relating to his consulship, expressly says, that Crassus came to him one night, and put a letter in his hands, which showed the reality of the plot into which they were then inquiring. Be that as it may, it is certain that Crassus after this conceived a mortal hatred for Cicero, and would have shown it in some act of violence, had not his son Publius prevented it. Publius was a man of letters, and eloquence had a particular charm for him: hence his attachment to Cicero was so great, that when the bill for his banishment was proposed, he went into mourning, and persuaded the rest of the Roman youth to do the same. At last, he even prevailed with his father to be reconciled to him.

* He was censor six years after his consulship, sixty-three years before the birth of Christ.

† Sullust says otherwise. He tells us it did appear incredible to some, but others believed it. Yet, not thinking it advisable to exasperate a man of so much power, they joined his retainers and those who owed him money, in crying it was a calumny, and in saying the senate ought to exculpate him; which accordingly they did. Some were of opinion, and Crassus himself among the rest, the informer was suborned by Cicero. But what end could Cicero have in accusing a man of his consequence, unless it were to alarm the senate and people the more with a sense of their danger? And what could Crassus propose to himself in entering into a plot to burn a city in which his property was so large?

About this time Cæsar returned from his government to solicit the consulship. Finding Crassus and Pompey again at variance, he would not apply to either in particular, lest he should make the other his enemy ; nor could he hope to succeed without the assistance of one of them. In this dilemma he determined, if possible, to effect a good understanding once more between them. For which purpose he represented, that, by levelling their artillery against each other, they raised the Ciceros, the Catuli, and the Catos ; who would be nothing, if they were once real friends, and took care to act in concert. "If that were the case," said he, "with your united interests and counsels you might carry all before you."

These representations had their effect ; and, by joining himself to the league, he formed that invincible triumvirate which ruined the senate and people of Rome. Not that either Crassus or Pompey gained any advantage from their union ; but Cæsar, by the help of both, climbed to the highest pinnacle of power. An earnest of this he had, in his being unanimously elected consul. And as he acquitted himself in his office with great honour, they procured him the command of armies, and decreed him the province of Gaul, where he was established, as in an impregnable castle. For they imagined, if they did but secure to him the province that was fallen to his lot, they might share the rest between them at their leisure.

It was the immoderate love of power which led Pompey into this error. And Crassus to his old disease of avarice now added a new one. The achievements, the victoriès, and triumphs of Cæsar, raised in Crassus a passion for the same ; and he could not be content to be beneath him in this respect, though he was so much superior in others. He therefore never let himself rest, till he met an inglorious fate, and involved his country in the most dreadful calamities.

On Cæsar's coming from Gaul to the city of Lucca, numbers went to wait upon him, and among the rest Crassus and Pompey. These, in their private conferences, agreed with him to carry matters with a higher hand, and to make themselves absolute in Rome. For this purpose Cæsar was to remain at the head of his army, and the other two chiefs to divide the rest of the provinces and armies between them. There was no way, however, to carry their scheme into execution, without suing for another consulship : in which Cæsar was to assist by writing to his friends, and by sending a number of his soldiers to vote in the election.

When Crassus and Pompey returned to Rome, their designs

were very much suspected; and the general discourse was, that the late interview boded no good to the commonwealth. Hereupon, Marcellinus and Domitius* asked Pompey in full senate whether he intended to solicit the consulship. To which he answered, "Perhaps I may—perhaps not." And upon their interrogating him a second time, he said, "If I solicit it, I shall solicit it for men of honour, and not for men of a meaner principle." As this answer appeared to have too much of haughtiness and contempt, Crassus expressed himself with more moderation, "If it be for the public good, I shall solicit it—if not, I shall forbear."

By this some other candidates, and among the rest Domitius, were emboldened to appear; but as soon as Crassus and Pompey declared themselves, the rest dropped their pretensions. Only Domitius was exhorted and encouraged by his friend and kinsman Cato not to abandon his prospects, but to stand boldly up for the liberties of his country. "As for Pompey and Crassus," he said, "they wanted not the consulship, but absolute power; nor was it so much their aim to be chief magistrates at home, as to seize the provinces, and to divide the armies between them."

Cato having thus expressed his real sentiments, drew Domitius almost forcibly into the *forum*, and numbers joined them there. For they were greatly surprised at this step of Crassus and Pompey. "Why do they demand," said they, "a second consulship? Why together? Why not with others? Have we not many persons of merit sufficient to entitle them to be colleagues with either Crassus or Pompey?"

Pompey's party, alarmed at these speeches, threw off the mask, and adopted the most violent measures. Among other outrages, they waylaid Domitius as he was going to the place of election before day, accompanied by his friends; killed the torch-bearer, and wounded many of his train, Cato among the rest. Then they shut them all up together till Crassus and Pompey were elected.

A little after this they confined Domitius to his house, by planting armed men about it, drove Cato out of the *forum*, and killed several who made resistance. Having thus cleared the way, they continued Cæsar in his government for five years more, and got Syria and both the Spains for their own provinces. Upon casting lots, Syria fell to Crassus, and the Spains to Pompey.

The allotment was not disagreeable to the multitude. They chose to have Pompey not far from Rome: and Pompey, who

* Domitius Ænobarbus.

passionately loved his wife, was very glad of the opportunity to spend most of his time there. As for Crassus, as soon as it appeared that Syria was his lot, he discovered the greatest joy, and considered it as the principal happiness of his life ; insomuch that even before strangers and the populace he could hardly restrain his transports. To his intimate friends he opened himself more freely, expressing the most sanguine hopes and indulging in vain elevations of heart, unsuitable to his age and disposition : for in general he was far from being pompous or inclined to vanity. But now, extravagantly elated and corrupted by his flattering prospects, he considered not Syria and the Parthians as the termination of his good fortune ; but intended to make the expedition of Lucullus against Tigranes, and of Pompey against Mithridates, appear only the sports of children. His design was to penetrate to the Bactrians, the Indians, the eastern ocean, and in his hopes he had already swallowed up the east.

In the law relating to the government of Crassus, no mention was made of a war in its neighbourhood : but all the world knew Crassus had an eye to it. And Cæsar, in the letter he wrote to him from Gaul, commended his design, and encouraged him to attack the Parthians. But when he was going to set out, Ateius, one of the tribunes, threatened to stop him, and numbers joined the tribune's party. They could not without indignation think of his going to begin hostilities against a people who had done them no injury, and were in fact their allies. Crassus, alarmed at this, desired Pompey to conduct him out of Rome. He knew the dignity of Pompey, and the veneration the populace had for him : and on this occasion, though many were prepared to withstand Crassus, and to raise a clamour against him, yet when they saw Pompey marching before him with an open and gay countenance, they dropped their resentment, and made way in silence.

Ateius, however, advanced to meet him. In the first place, by the authority of his office, he commanded him to stop, and protested against his enterprise. Then he ordered one of his officers to seize him. But the other tribunes interposing, the officer let Crassus go. Ateius now ran before to the gate, and placed there a censer with fire in it. At the approach of Crassus, he sprinkled incense upon it, offered libations, and uttered the most horrid imprecations, invoking at the same time certain dreadful and strange gods. The Romans say these mysterious and ancient imprecations have such a power,* that the object of

* "Dira detestatio
Nulla expiatur victimi."—HOR.

them never escapes their effect ; nay, they add, that the person who uses them is sure to be unhappy ; so that they are seldom used, and never but upon a great occasion. Ateius was much blamed for his rash zeal. It was for his country's sake that he was an adversary to Crassus, and yet it was his country he had laid under that dreadful curse.

Crassus, pursuing his journey, came to Brundisium ; and though the winter storms made the voyage dangerous, he put to sea, and lost a number of vessels in his passage. As soon as he had collected the rest of his troops, he continued his route by land through Galatia. There he paid his respects to Deiotarus, who, though an old man, was building a new city. Crassus laughed, and said, "You begin to build at the twelfth hour of the day !" The king laughed in his turn and answered, "You do not set out very early in the morning against the Parthians !" Crassus, indeed, was then above sixty years of age, and he looked much older than he was.

Upon his arrival in Syria, his affairs prospered at first according to his expectation. He threw a bridge over the Euphrates with ease, and his army passed it without opposition. Many cities in Mesopotamia voluntarily received him ; and one only stood upon its defence. The prince who governed it was named Apollonius. The Romans having lost about a hundred men before it, Crassus marched against it with all his forces, took it by assault, plundered it of everything valuable, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. The Greeks called that city Zenodotia. Crassus, upon taking it, suffered his army to salute him *Imperator* ; a thing which reflected no small disgrace upon him : it showed the meanness of his spirit, and his despair of effecting anything considerable, when he valued himself upon such a trifling acquisition.

After he had garrisoned the towns that had submitted with seven thousand foot and one thousand horse, he returned into Syria, to winter. There he was joined by his son, whom Cæsar had sent to him from Gaul, adorned with military honours, and at the head of one thousand select horse.

Among the many errors which Crassus committed in this war, the first, and none of the least, was his returning so soon into Syria. He ought to have gone forward, and strengthened himself with the accession of Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians : instead of which, he gave the enemy abundant time to prepare themselves. Besides, his occupations in Syria were greatly censured, having more of the trader in them than of the general. Instead of examining into the arms,

of his soldiers, keeping them in exercise, and improving their strength and activity by proper rewards, he was inquiring into the revenues of the cities, and weighing the treasures in the temple of the goddess of Hierapolis.* And though he fixed the quotas which the states and principalities were to furnish, he let them off again for a sum of money; which exposed him to the contempt of those whom he excused.

The first sign of his future fortune came from this very goddess, whom some call Venus, some Juno, others *Nature*, or that great principle which produces all things out of moisture, and instructs mankind in the knowledge of everything that is good. As they were going out of the temple, young Crassus stumbled and fell at the gate, and his father fell upon him.

He was now drawing his troops out of winter-quarters, when ambassadors came from Arsaces, and addressed him in this short speech: "If this army was sent against the Parthians by the Roman people, that people has nothing to expect but perpetual war and enmity irreconcilable. But if Crassus, against the inclinations of his country (which they were informed was the case), to gratify his own avarice, has undertaken this war, and invaded one of the Parthian provinces, Arsaces will act with more moderation. He will take compassion on Crassus's age, and let the Romans go, though in fact he considers them rather as in prison than in garrison." To this Crassus made no return but a rhodomontade. He said he would give them his answer at Seleucia. Upon which, Vagises, the oldest of the ambassadors, laughed; and turning up the palm of his hand, replied, "Crassus, here will hair grow before thou wilt see Seleucia."

The ambassadors then returned to their king Orodes,† and told him he must prepare for war. Meantime, some Romans escaped with difficulty from the cities they garrisoned in Mesopotamia, and brought a very alarming account of the enemy. They said they had been eye-witnesses to their

* About twenty miles from the Euphrates there was a city known by the several names of Bambyce, Edessa, and Hierapolis. By the Syrians it was called Magog. The goddess Atargatis was worshipped there with great devotion. Lucian mentions her temple as the richest in the world.

† Here the king of Parthia is called Orodes, who before was called Arsaces. Arsaces was probably a name common to the kings of that country, and Orodes the proper name of this prince. He was the son of Phraates the second, and made his way to the crown through the blood of his elder brother Mithridates. For this he deservedly died the same kind of death.

immense numbers, and to their dreadful manner of fighting, when they attacked the towns. And, as it is usual for fear to magnify its object, they added, "It is impossible either to escape them when they pursue, or to take them when they fly. They have a new and strange sort of arrows, which are swifter than lightning, and reach their mark before you can see they are discharged; nor are they less fatal in their effects than swift in their course. The offensive arms of their cavalry pierce through everything, and the defensive arms are so well tempered that nothing can pierce them."

The Roman soldiers were struck with this account, and their courage began to droop. They had imagined that the Parthians were not different from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had beaten and driven before him till he was weary; and consequently that the hardest part of the expedition would be the length of the way, and the trouble of pursuing men who would never stand an engagement. But now they found they had war and danger to look in the face, which they had not thought of: insomuch that several of the principal officers were of opinion that Crassus ought to stop, and call a council to consider whether new measures ought not to be taken. Of this number was Cassius the quæstor. Besides, the soothsayers whispered that the sacrifices were not accepted by the gods, and the signs appeared always inauspicious to the general. However, he paid no attention to them, nor to any but those who were for hastening his march.

He was the more confirmed in his intentions by the arrival of Artavasdes,* king of Armenia. That prince came with 6000 horse, which he said were only his body-guard. He promised Crassus 10,000 more, armed at all points, and 30,000 foot, all to be maintained at his own expense. At the same time, he advised him to enter Parthia by way of Armenia. "By that means," said he, "you will not only have plenty of provisions, which I shall take care to supply you with; but your march will be safe, as it will lie along a chain of mountains, and a country almost impracticable for cavalry, in which the Parthian strength consists." Crassus received his tender of service and his noble offer of succours but coldly; and said he should march through Mesopotamia, where he had left a number of brave Romans. Upon this the Armenian bade him adieu, and returned to his own country.

As Crassus was passing the Euphrates at Zeugma, he met

* In the text he is here called Artabases; but, as Plutarch calls him Artavasdes everywhere afterwards, we thought it proper to put it so here.

with dreadful bursts of thunder, and lightnings flamed in the face of his troops. At the same time, the black clouds emitted a hurricane mingled with fire, which broke down and destroyed great part of his bridge. The place which he had marked out for a camp was also twice struck with lightning. One of the general's war horses, richly caparisoned, running away with his rider, leaped into the river, and was seen no more. And it is said, when the foremost eagle was moved, in order for a march, it turned back of its own accord. Besides these ill tokens, it happened that when the soldiers had their provisions distributed, after they had crossed the river, they were first served with lentils and salt, which are reckoned ominous, and commonly placed upon the monuments of the dead. In a speech of Crassus to the army, an expression escaped him, which struck them all with horror. He said he had broke down the bridge, that not one of them might return. And when he ought, upon perceiving the impropriety of the expression, to have recalled or explained it to the intimidated troops, his obstinacy would not permit him. To which we may add, that in the sacrifice offered for the lustration of the army, the *aruspex* having put the entrails in his hands, he let them fall. All that attended the ceremony were struck with astonishment ; but he only said with a smile, "See what it is to be old ! My sword, however, shall not slip out of my hands in this manner."

Immediately after this he began his march along the side of the Euphrates, with seven legions, near 4000 horse, and almost as many of the light-armed. He had not gone far before some of his scouts returned, and told him, they had not found so much as one man in their excursions ; but that there were many vestiges of cavalry, who appeared to have fled as if they had been pursued.

Crassus now began to be more sanguine in his hopes, and the soldiers to hold the enemy in contempt, upon a supposition that they durst not stand an encounter. Nevertheless, Cassius addressed himself to the general again, and advised him to secure his troops in some fortified town, till he should have some account of the enemy that might be depended upon. If he did not choose that, he desired him to keep along the river till he reached Seleucia : for by this means he would be constantly supplied with provisions from the vessels that would follow his camp ; and the river preventing his being surrounded, he would always have it in his power to fight upon equal terms.

While Crassus was weighing these counsels with much

deliberation, there arrived an Arabian chief named Ariamnes.* This artful and perfidious man was the principal instrument of all the calamities which fortune was preparing for the ruin of Crassus. Some of his officers who had served under Pompey knew how much Ariamnes was indebted to that general's favour, and that in consequence he passed for a well-wisher to the Romans. But now, gained by the Parthian officers, he concerted with them a scheme to draw Crassus from the river and the higher grounds, into an immense plain where he might easily be surrounded. For the enemy thought of nothing less than fighting a pitched battle with the Romans.

This barbarian, then, addressing himself to Crassus, at first launched out into the praises of Pompey as his benefactor, for he was a voluble and artful speaker. Then he expressed his admiration of so fine an army, but withal took occasion to blame Crassus for his delays, and the time he spent in preparing ; as if weapons, and not rather active hands and feet, were required against a people who had long been determined to retire with their most valuable effects, and with their families and friends, to the Scythians and Hyrcanians. "Or suppose you have to fight," said he, "you ought to hasten to the encounter, before the king recover his spirits, and collect all his forces. At present he has only sent out Surena and Sillaces to amuse you, and to prevent your pursuit of himself. For his part, he will take care not to appear in the field."

This story was false in every circumstance. For Orodes had divided his army into two parts ; with one of which he was ravaging Armenia, to wreak his vengeance upon Artavasdes ; Surena was left with the other, to make head against the Romans. Not that the king (as some will have it) had any contempt for the Romans ; for Crassus, one of the most powerful men Rome had produced, was not an antagonist whom he should despise, and think it a fairer field of honour to go and fight with Artavasdes, and lay waste Armenia. On the contrary, it is highly probable it was his apprehension of danger which made him keep at a distance and watch the rising event ; in order to which he sent Surena before him, to make trial of the enemy's strength and to amuse them with his stratagems. For Surena was no ordinary person ; but in fortune, family, and honour, the first after the king ; and in point of courage and capacity, as well as in size and beauty, superior to the Parthians of his time. If he went only upon an excursion into the

* Appian and Dion Cassius call him Acbarus or Agbarus.

country, he had a 1000 camels to carry his baggage, and 200 carriages for his concubines. He was attended by 1000 heavy-armed horse, and many more of the light-armed rode before him. Indeed, his vassals and slaves made up a body of cavalry little less than 10,000. He had the hereditary privilege in his family to put the diadem upon the king's head when he was crowned. When Orodes was driven from the throne, he restored him ; and it was he who conquered for him the great city of Seleucia, being the first to scale the wall, and beating off the enemy with his own hand. Though he was then not thirty years old, his discernment was strong, and his counsel esteemed the best. These were the talents by which he overthrew Crassus, who laid himself open to his arts, first by a too sanguine confidence, and afterwards by his fears and depression under misfortunes.

When Crassus had listened to the lure of Ariamnes, and left the river to march into the plain, the traitor led him a way that was smooth and easy at first ; but after a while it became extremely difficult, by reason of the deep sands in which he had to wade, and the sight of a vast desert without wood or water, which afforded no prospect of repose or hope of refreshment. So that his troops were ready to give out, not only through thirst and the difficulty of the march, but through the comfortless and melancholy view before them of a country where there was neither tree nor stream to be seen, no hill to shelter them, no green herb growing, but the billows of an immense sea of sand surrounding the whole army.

These things gave them sufficient reason to suspect they were betrayed ; but when the envoys of Artavasdes arrived, there was no room to doubt it. That prince informed Crassus, that Orodes had invaded his kingdom with a great army, so that now he could send the Romans no succours. Therefore he advised them to march towards Armenia, where, with their united forces, they might give Orodes battle. If Crassus did not relish this advice, he conjured him at least never to encamp upon any ground favourable to the cavalry, but to keep close to the mountains. Crassus in his resentment and infatuation would send no answer in writing ; he only said, he was not at leisure now to think of the Armenians, but by and by he would come and chastise their king for his perfidiousness. Cassius was extremely chagrined, but would not make any more remonstrances to the general, who was already offended at the liberty he had taken. He applied, however, to the barbarian in private, in such terms as these, " O thou vilest of

impostors, what malevolent demon has brought thee amongst us? By what potions, by what enchantments, hast thou prevailed upon Crassus to pour his army into this vast, this amazing desert; a march more fit for a Numidian robber than for a Roman general?" The barbarian, who had art enough to adapt himself to all occasions, humbled himself to Cassius, and encouraged him to hold out and have patience only a little longer. As for the soldiers, he rode about the ranks under a pretence of fortifying them against their fatigues, and made use of several taunting expressions to them, "What," said he, "do you imagine that you are marching through Campania? Do you expect the fountains, the streams, the shades, the baths, and houses of refreshment you meet with there? And will you never remember that you are traversing the barren confines of the Arabians and Assyrians?" Thus the traitor admonished, or rather insulted the Romans, and got off at last before his imposture was discovered. Nor was this without the general's knowledge; he even persuaded him then, that he was going upon some scheme to put the enemy in disorder.

It is said that Crassus on that day did not appear in a purple robe, such as the Roman generals used to wear, but in a black one; and when he perceived his mistake, he went and changed it. Some of the standards, too, were so rooted in the ground, that they could not be moved without the greatest efforts. Crassus only laughed at the omen, and hastened his march the more, making the foot keep up with the cavalry. Meantime the remains of a reconnoitring party returned, with an account that their comrades were killed by the Parthians, and that they had escaped with great difficulty. At the same time they assured him that the enemy was advancing with very numerous forces, and in the highest spirits.

This intelligence spread great dismay among the troops, and Crassus was the most terrified of all. In his confusion he had scarce understanding enough about him to draw up his army properly. At first, agreeably to the opinion of Cassius, he extended the front of his infantry so as to occupy a great space of ground, to prevent their being surrounded, and distributed the cavalry in the wings. But soon altering his mind, he drew up the legions in a close square, and made a front every way, each front consisting of twelve cohorts. Every cohort had its troop of horse allotted it, that no part might remain unsupported by the cavalry, but that the whole might advance with equal security to the charge. One of the wings was given to Cassius,

the other to young Crassus, and the general placed himself in the centre.

In this order they moved forward, till they came to a river called Balissus, which in itself was not considerable, but the sight of it gave pleasure to the soldiers, as well on account of their heat and thirst, as the fatigues of a march through a dry and sandy desert. Most of the officers were of opinion that they ought to pass the night there, and after having got the best intelligence they could of the number of the enemy and their order, advance against them at break of day. But Crassus, carried away by the eagerness of his son, and of the cavalry about him, who called upon him to lead them to the charge, commanded those who wanted refreshment to take it as they stood in their ranks. Before they had all done, he began his march, not leisurely and with proper pauses, as is necessary in going to battle, but with a quick and continued pace till they came in sight of the enemy, who appeared neither so numerous nor so formidable as they had expected. For Surena had concealed his main force behind the advance guard, and to prevent their being discovered by the glittering of their armour, he had ordered them to cover it with their coats or with skins.

When both armies were near enough to engage, and the generals had given the signal, the field resounded with a horrid din and dreadful bellowing. For the Parthians do not excite their men to action with cornets and trumpets, but with certain hollow instruments covered with leather, and surrounded with brass bells, which they beat continually. The sound is deep and dismal, something between the howling of wild beasts and the crashing of thunder ; and it was from sage reflection they had adopted it, having observed, that of all these senses, that of hearing soonest disturbs the mind, agitates the passions, and unhinges the understanding.

While the Romans were trembling at the horrid noise, the Parthians suddenly uncovered their arms, and appeared like battalions of fire, with the gleam of their breastplates and their helmets of Margian steel polished to the greatest perfection. Their cavalry too, completely armed in brass and steel, shed a lustre no less striking. At the head of them appeared Surena, tall and well made ; but his feminine beauty did not promise such courage as he was possessed of. For he was dressed in the fashion of the Medes, with his face painted, and his hair curled and equally parted ; while the rest of the Parthians wore their hair in great disorder, like the Scythians, to make themselves look more terrible.

At first the barbarians intended to have charged with their pikes, and opened a way through their foremost ranks ; but when they saw the depth of the Roman battalions, the closeness of their order, and the firmness of their standing, they drew back, and, under the appearance of breaking their ranks and dispersing, wheeled about and surrounded the Romans. At that instant Crassus ordered his archers and light infantry to begin the charge. But they had not gone far before they were saluted with a shower of arrows, which came with such force and did so much execution, as drove them back upon the battalions. This was the beginning of disorder and consternation among the heavy-armed, when they beheld the force and strength of the arrows, against which no armour was proof, and whose keenness nothing could resist. The Parthians now separated, and began to exercise their artillery upon the Romans on all sides at a considerable distance ; not needing to take an extra aim, by reason of the closeness and depth of the square in which their adversaries were drawn up. Their bows were large and strong, yet capable of bending, till the arrows were drawn to the head ; the force they went with was consequently very great, and the wounds they gave mortal.

The Romans were now in a dreadful situation. If they stood still, they were pierced through ; if they advanced, they could make no reprisals, and yet were sure to meet their fate. For the Parthians shoot as they fly ; and this they do with dexterity inferior only to the Scythians. It is indeed an excellent expedient, because they save themselves by retiring, and, by fighting all the while, escape the disgrace of flight.

While the Romans had any hopes that the Parthians would spend all their arrows and quit the combat, or else advance hand to hand, they bore their distresses with patience. But as soon as it was perceived that behind the enemy there was a number of camels loaded with arrows, from whence the first ranks, after they emptied their quivers, were supplied, Crassus, seeing no end to his sufferings, was greatly distressed. The step he took was to send orders to his son to get up with the enemy, and charge them, if possible, before he was quite surrounded : for it was principally against him that one wing of the Parthian cavalry directed their efforts, in hopes of taking him in the rear. Upon this, the young man took 1300 horse, of which those he had from Cæsar made 1000, 500 archers, and eight cohorts of infantry which were next at hand, and wheeled about, to come to the charge. However, the Parthians, whether it was that they were afraid to meet a detachment that

came against them in such good order, which some say was the case ; or whether they wanted to draw young Crassus as far as they possibly could from his father, turned their backs and fled.* The young man cried out, "They dare not stand us," and followed at full speed. So did Censorinus and Megabacchus ; the latter a man noted for his strength and courage, and the former a person of senatorial dignity, and an excellent orator. Both were intimate friends of young Crassus, and nearly of his age.

The cavalry kept on, and such was the alacrity and spirit of hope with which the infantry were inspired, that they were left behind : for they imagined they were only pursuing a conquered enemy. But they had not gone far before they found how much they were deceived. The pretended fugitives faced about, and many others joining them, advanced to the encounter. The Romans, upon this, made a stand, supposing the enemy would come to close quarters with them, because their number was but small. The Parthians, however, only formed a line of their heavy-armed cavalry opposite their adversaries, and then ordered their irregulars to gallop round, and beat up the sand and dust in such a manner, that the Romans could scarce either see or speak for the clouds of it. Besides, the latter were drawn up in so small a compass, and pressed so close upon each other, that they were a very fair mark for the enemy. Their death, too, was lingering. They rolled about in agonies of pain with the arrows sticking in them, and before they died endeavoured to pull out the barbed points which were entangled within their veins and sinews ; an effort that served only to enlarge their wounds and add to their torture.

Many died in this miserable manner, and those who survived were not fit for action. When Publius† desired then to attack the heavy-armed cavalry, they showed him their hands nailed to their shields, and their feet fastened to the ground, so that they could neither fight nor fly. He therefore encouraged his cavalry, and advanced with great vigour to the charge. But the dispute was by no means upon an equality, either in respect of attack or defence. For his men had only weak and short javelins to attempt the Parthian cuirasses, which were made either of raw hides or steel ; while the enemy's strong pikes

* It was their common method, not to stand a pitched battle with troops that were in any degree their match. In retreating and advancing, as occasion required, they knew the advantage they had in the swiftness of their horses, and in the excellence of their archers.

† Young Crassus.

could easily make an impression upon the naked or light-armed Gauls. These were the troops in which he placed his chief confidence, and indeed he worked wonders with them. They laid hold on the pikes of the barbarians, and grappling with them pulled them from their horses, and threw them on the ground, where they could scarce stir, by reason of the weight of their own armour. Many of them even quitted their own horses, and getting under those of the Parthians, wounded them in the belly; upon which the horses, mad with pain, plunged and threw their riders, and treading them underfoot along with the enemy, at last fell down dead upon both. What went hardest against the Gauls was heat and thirst, for they had not been accustomed to either. And they lost most of their horses by advancing furiously against the enemy's pikes.

They had now no resource but to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who was much wounded. But happening to see a hill of sand by the way, they retired to it; and having placed their horses in the middle, they locked their shields together all around, imagining that would prove the best defence against the barbarians. It happened, however, quite otherwise. While they were upon plain ground, the foremost rank afforded some shelter to those behind; but upon the eminence, the unevenness of the ground showed one above another, and those behind higher than those before, so that there was no chance for any of them to escape: they fell promiscuously, lamenting their inglorious fate, and the impossibility of exerting themselves to the last.

Young Crassus had with him two Greeks, named Hieronymus and Nicomachus, who had settled in that country in the town of Carræ. These advised him to retire with them, and to make his escape to Ischnæ, a city which had adopted the Roman interests, and was at no great distance. But he answered, there was no death, however dreadful, the fear of which could make him leave so many brave men dying for his sake. At the same time he desired them to save themselves, and then embraced and dismissed them. As his own hand was transfixed with an arrow, and he could not use it, he offered his side to his armour-bearer, and ordered him to strike the blow. Censorinus is said to have died in the same manner. As for Megabacchus, he despatched himself with his own hand, and the other principal officers followed his example. The rest fell by the Parthian pikes, after they had defended themselves gallantly to the last. The enemy did not make above 500 prisoners.

When they had cut off the head of young Crassus, they marched with it to his father, whose affairs were in this posture. After he had ordered his son to charge the Parthians, news was brought him that they fled with great precipitation, and that the Romans pursued them with equal vivacity. He perceived also, that on his side the enemy's operations were comparatively feeble : for the greatest part of them were then gone after his son. Hereupon he recovered his spirits in some degree, and drew his forces back to some higher ground, expecting every moment his son's return from the pursuit.

Publius had sent several messengers to inform him of his danger ; but the first had fallen in with the barbarians, and were cut in pieces ; and the last having escaped with great difficulty, told him his son was lost, if he had not large and immediate succours. Crassus was so distracted by different passions that he could not form any rational scheme. On the one hand he was afraid of sacrificing the whole army, and on the other, anxious for the preservation of his son ; but at last he resolved to march to his assistance.

Meantime the enemy advanced with loud shouts and songs of victory, which made them appear more terrible ; and all the drums bellowing again in the ears of the Romans, gave them notice of another engagement. The Parthians coming forward with the head of Publius on a spear, demanded, in the most contemptuous manner, whether they knew the family and parents of the young man. "For," said they, "it is not possible that so brave and gallant a youth should be the son of Crassus, the greatest dastard and the meanest wretch in the world."

This spectacle broke the spirits of the Romans more than all the calamities they had met with. Instead of exciting them to revenge, as might have been expected, it produced a horror and tremor which ran through the whole army. Nevertheless, Crassus, on this melancholy occasion, behaved with greater magnanimity than he had ever shown before. He marched up and down the ranks, and cried, "Romans, this loss is mine. The fortunes and glory of Rome stand safe and undiminished in you. If you have any pity for me, who am bereaved of the best of sons, show it in your resentment against the enemy. Put an end to their triumph ; avenge their cruelty. Be not astonished at this loss ; they must always have something to suffer who aspire to great things. Lucullus did not pull down Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, without some expense of blood. Our ancestors lost 1000 ships before they reduced Sicily, and many great officers and generals in Italy ; but no previous loss

prevented their subduing the conquerors. For it was not by her good fortune, but by the perseverance and fortitude with which she combated adversity, that Rome has risen to her present height of power."

Crassus, though he thus endeavoured to animate his troops, did not find many listen to him with pleasure. He was sensible their depression still continued, when he ordered them to shout for the battle ; for their shout was feeble, languid, and unequal, while that of the barbarians was bold and strong. When the attack began, the light-armed cavalry, taking the Romans in flank, galled them with their arrows ; while the heavy-armed, charging them in front with their pikes, drove them into a narrow space. Some, indeed, to avoid a more painful death from the arrows, advanced with the resolution of despair, but did not much execution. All the advantage they had was, that they were speedily despatched by the large wounds they received from the broad heads of the enemy's strong pikes, which they pushed with such violence, that they often pierced through two men at once.*

The fight continued in this manner all day ; and when the barbarians came to retire, they said they would give Crassus one night to bewail his son ; if he did not in the meantime consider better, and rather choose to go and surrender himself to Arsaces than be carried. Then they sat down near the Roman army, and passed the night in great satisfaction, hoping to finish the affair the next day.

It was a melancholy and dreadful night to the Romans. They took no care to bury the dead, nor any notice of the wounded, many of whom were expiring in great agonies. Every man had his own fate to deplore. That fate appeared inevitable, whether they remained where they were, or threw themselves in the night into that boundless plain. They found a great objection, too, against retiring, in the wounded, who would retard their flight if they attempted to carry them off, and alarm the enemy with their cries if they were left behind.

As for Crassus, though they believed him the cause of all their miseries, they wanted him to make his appearance and speak to them. But he had covered his head, chosen darkness for his companion, and stretched himself upon the ground. A sad example to the vulgar of the instability of fortune ; and to men of deeper thought, of the effects of rashness and ill-placed ambition. Not contented with being the first and greatest

* There is nothing incredible in this, for it is frequently done by the Tartars in the same mode of fighting at this day.

among many millions of men, he had considered himself in a mean light, because there were two above him.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius, endeavoured to raise him from the ground and console him, but found that he gave himself entirely up to despair. They then, by their own authority, summoned the centurions and other officers to a council of war, in which it was resolved they should retire. Accordingly they began to do so without sound of trumpet, and silently enough at first. But when the sick and wounded perceived they were going to be deserted, their doleful cries and lamentations filled the whole army with confusion and disorder. Still greater terror seized them as they proceeded, the foremost troops imagining that those behind were enemies. They often missed their way, often stopped to put themselves in some order, or to take some of the wounded off the beasts of burden, and put others on. By these things they lost a great deal of time; insomuch that Ignatius only, who made the best of his way with three hundred horse, arrived at Carræ about midnight. He saluted the guards in Latin, and when he perceived they heard him, he bade them go and tell Coponius, who commanded there, that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians. Then, without explaining himself farther, or acquainting them who he was, he made off as fast as possible to Zeugma, by which means he saved himself and his troop; but, at the same time, was much blamed for deserting his general.

However, Crassus found his advantage in the hint given to Coponius. That officer, considering that the hurry and confusion with which the message was delivered betokened no good, ordered his men to arm; and as soon as he was apprised that Crassus was marching that way, he went out to meet him, and conducted his army into the town.

Though the Parthians in the night perceived the flight of the Romans, they did not pursue them; but at break of day they fell upon those that were left in the camp, and despatched them to the number of four thousand. The cavalry also picked up many others who were straggling upon the plain. One of the Roman officers, named Varguntinus, who had wandered in the night from the main body with four cohorts, was found next morning posted upon a hill. The barbarians surrounded their little corps, and killed them all except twenty men. These made their way through the enemy sword in hand, who let them pass, and they arrived safe at Carræ.

A rumour was now brought to Surena that Crassus, with the best of his officers and troops, had escaped, and that those who

had retired into Carræ were only a mixed multitude, not worth his notice. He was afraid, therefore, that he had lost the fruits of his victory; but not being absolutely certain, he wanted better information, in order to determine whether he should besiege Carræ, or pursue Crassus, wherever he might have fled. For this purpose he despatched an interpreter to the walls, who was to call Crassus or Cassius in Latin, and tell them that Surena demanded a conference. As soon as the business of the interpreter was made known to Crassus, he accepted the proposal. And not long after certain Arabians arrived from the same quarter, who knew Crassus and Cassius well, having been in the Roman camp before the battle. These seeing Cassius upon the walls, told him Surena was ready to conclude a peace with them, on condition they would be upon terms of friendship with the king his master, and give up Mesopotamia, for he thought this more advantageous to both than coming to extremities. Cassius embraced the overture, and demanded that the time and place might be fixed for an interview between Surena and Crassus; which the Arabians undertook for, and then rode off.

Surena, delighted to find that the Romans were in a place where they might be besieged, led his Parthians against them the next day. These barbarians treated them with great insolence, and told them, if they wanted either peace or truce, they might deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound. The Romans, greatly afflicted at finding themselves so imposed upon, told Crassus he must give up his distant and vain hopes of succour from the Armenians, and resolve upon flight. This resolution ought to have been concealed from all the inhabitants of Carræ till the moment it was put in execution. But Crassus revealed it to Andromachus, one of the most perfidious amongst them, whom he also chose for his guide. From this traitor the Parthians learned every step that was taken.

As it was not their custom, nor consequently very practicable for them, to fight in the night, and it was in the night that Crassus marched out, Andromachus contrived that they might not be far behind. With this view he artfully led the Romans sometimes one way, sometimes another, and at last entangled them among deep marshes and ditches, where it was difficult to get either forward or backward. There were several who conjectured, from this shifting and turning, that Andromachus had some ill design, and therefore refused to follow him any farther. As for Cassius, he returned to Carræ; and when his guides, who were Arabians, advised him to wait till the moon

had passed the Scorpion, he answered, "I am more afraid of the Sagittary."* Then making the best of his way, he got into Assyria with five hundred horse. Others, finding faithful guides, reached the mountains of Sinnaca, and were perfectly secure, before it was light. These, about five thousand in number, were under the conduct of Octavius, a man of great merit and honour.

Meantime day overtook Crassus, while, through the treachery of Andromachus, he was wandering on bogs and other impracticable ground. He had with him only four cohorts of infantry, a very small number of horse, and five lictors. At length he regained the road with much labour and difficulty; but by this time the enemy was coming up. He was not above twelve furlongs behind the corps under Octavius. However, as he could not join him, all he could do was to retire to a hill, not so secure against cavalry as Sinnaca, but situated under those mountains, and connected with them by a long ridge which ran through the plain. Octavius, therefore, could see the danger Crassus was in, and he immediately ran down with a small band to his assistance. Upon this the rest, reproaching themselves for staying behind, descended from the heights, and falling upon the Parthians, drove them from the hill. Then they took Crassus in the midst of them, and fencing him with their shields, boldly declared that no Parthian arrow should touch their general while any of them were left alive.

Surena now perceiving that the Parthians were less vigorous in their attacks, and that if night came on, and the Romans gained the mountains, they would be entirely out of his reach, formed a stratagem to get Crassus into his hands. He dismissed some of his prisoners, after they had heard the conversation of the Parthian soldiers, who had been instructed to say that the king did not want perpetual war with the Romans, but had rather renew the friendship and alliance by his generous treatment of Crassus. After this manœuvre, the barbarian withdrew from the combat, and Surena, with a few of his principal officers, advancing gently to the hill, where he unstrung his bow, and, offering his hand, invited Crassus to an agreement. He said the king had hitherto, contrary to his inclinations, given proofs of his power, but now he would with pleasure show his moderation and clemency in coming to terms with the Romans, and suffering them to depart in peace.

The troops received this proposal of Surena with joy. But Crassus, whose errors had all been owing to the Parthian

* Alluding to the Parthian archers.

treachery and deceit, and thought this sudden change in their behaviour a very suspicious circumstance, did not accept the overture, but stood deliberating. Hereupon the soldiers raised a great outcry, and bade him go down. Then they proceeded to insults and reproaches, telling him he was very willing to expose them to the weapons of the Parthians, but did not dare to meet them himself, when they had laid down their arms, and wanted only a friendly conference.

At first he had recourse to entreaties, and represented that if they would but hold out the remainder of the day, they might in the night gain the mountains and rocks, which would be inaccessible to cavalry. At the same time he pointed to the way, and begged them not to forego the hopes of safety when they had it so near. But when he found they received his address with anger, and clashing their arms in a menacing manner, he was terrified, and began to go; only turning round a moment to speak these few words—"You, Octavius, and you, Petronius, and all you Roman officers that are present, are witnesses of the necessity I am under to take this step, and conscious of the dishonour and violence I suffer; but, when you are safe, pray tell the world that I was deceived by the enemy, and not that I was abandoned by my countrymen."

However, Octavius and Petronius would not stay behind; they descended the hill with him. His lictors too would have followed, but he sent them back. The first persons that met him, on the part of the barbarians, were two Greeks of the half breed. They dismounted and made Crassus a low reverence, and addressing him in Greek, desired he would send some of his people to see that Surena and his company came unarmed, and without any weapons concealed about them. Crassus answered, that if his life had been of any account with him, he should not have trusted himself in their hands. Nevertheless, he sent two brothers of the name of Roscius before him, to inquire upon what footing, and how many of each side were to meet. Surena detained those messengers, and advanced in person with his principal officers on horseback. "What is this," said he, "I behold? A Roman general on foot, when we are on horseback?" Then he ordered a horse to be brought for him. But Crassus answered there was no error on either side, since each came to treat after the manner of his country. "Then," said Surena, "from this moment there shall be peace and an alliance between Orodes and the Romans; but the treaty must be signed upon the banks of the Euphrates: for you Romans remember your agreements very ill." Then he

offered him his hand ; and when Crassus would have sent for a horse, he told him there was no need ; the king would supply him with one. At the same time a horse was brought with furniture of gold, and the equerries having mounted, Crassus, began to drive him forward. Octavius then laid hold on the bridle ; in which he was followed by Petronius, a legionary tribune. Afterwards the rest of the Romans who attended endeavoured to stop the horse, and to draw off those who pressed upon Crassus on each side. A scuffle and tumult ensued, which ended in blows. Thereupon Octavius drew his sword, and killed one of the Parthian grooms ; and another coming behind, Octavius despatched him. Petronius, who had no arms to defend him, received a stroke on his breast-plate, but leaped from his horse unwounded. Crassus was killed by a Parthian named Pomaxæthres : though some say another despatched him, and Pomaxæthres cut off his head and right hand. Indeed, all these circumstances must be rather from conjecture than knowledge. For part of those who attended were slain in attempting to defend Crassus, and the rest had run up the hill on the first alarm.

After this, the Parthians went and addressed themselves to the troops at the top. They told them Crassus had met with the reward his injustice deserved ; but, as for them, Surena desired that they would come down boldly, for they had nothing to fear. Upon this promise some went down and surrendered themselves. Others attempted to get off in the night ; but very few of those escaped. The rest were hunted by the Arabians, and either taken or put to the sword. It is said, that in all there were 20,000 killed, and 10,000 made prisoners.

Surena sent the head and hand to Orodes in Armenia ; notwithstanding which he ordered his messengers to give it out at Seleucia that he was bringing Crassus alive. Pursuant to this report, he prepared a kind of mock procession, which, by way of ridicule, he called triumph. Caius Pacianus, who, of all the the prisoners most resembled Crassus, was dressed in a rich robe in the Parthian fashion, and instructed to answer to the name of Crassus and title of general. Thus accoutred, he marched on horseback at the head of the Romans. Before him marched the trumpets and lictors, mounted upon camels. Upon the rods were suspended empty purses, and, on the axes, heads of the Romans newly cut off. Behind came the Seleucian courtesans with music, singing scurrilous and farcical songs upon the effeminacy and cowardice of Crassus.

These things were to amuse the populace. But after the

farce was over, Surena assembled the senate of Seleucia, and produced the obscene books of Aristides, called *Milesiacs*. Nor was this a groundless invention to blacken the Romans. For the books being really found in the baggage of Rustius, gave Surena an excellent opportunity to say many sharp and satirical things of the Romans, who, even in the time of war, could not refrain from such libidinous actions and abominable books.

This scene put the Seleucians in mind of the wise remark of Æsop. They saw Surena had put the Milesian obscenities in the forepart of the wallet, and behind they beheld a Parthian Sybaris,* with a long train of carriages full of harlots; inso-much that his army resembled the serpents called *scytalæ*. Fierce and formidable in its head, it presents nothing but pikes, artillery, and war horses; while the tail ridiculously enough exhibited prostitutes, musical instruments, and nights spent in singing and rioting with those women. Rustius undoubtedly was to blame; but it was an impudent thing in the Parthians to censure the *Milesiacs*, when many of the Arsacidæ who filled the throne were sons of Milesian or Ionian courtesans.

During these transactions Orodes was reconciled to Artavasdes the Armenian, and had agreed to a marriage between that prince's sister and his son Pacorus. On this occasion they freely went to each other's entertainments, in which many of the Greek tragedies were presented. For Orodes was not unversed in the Grecian literature; and Artavasdes had written tragedies himself, as well as orations and histories, some of which are still extant. In one of these entertainments, while they were yet at table, the head of Crassus was brought to the door. Jason, a tragedian of the city of Tralles, was rehearsing the Bacchæ of Euripides, and the tragical adventures of Pentheus and Agave. All the company were expressing their admiration of the pieces, when Sillaces entering the apartment prostrated himself before the king, and laid the head of Crassus at his feet. The Parthians welcomed it with acclamations of joy, and the attendants, by the king's order, placed Sillaces at the table. Hereupon, Jason gave one of the actors the habit of Penthus, in which he had appeared, and putting on that of Agave, with the frantic air and all the enthusiasm of a Bacchanal, sung that part where Agave presents the head of Pentheus upon her thyrsus, fancying it to be that of a young lion:—

“Well are our toils repaid: On yonder mountain
We pierced the lordly savage.”

* Sybaris was a town in Lucania, famous for its luxury and effeminacy.

Finding the company extremely delighted, he went on :—

“ The *Chorus* asks, ‘ Who gave the glorious blow ? ’
Agave answers, ‘ Mine, mine, is the prize. ’ ”

Pomaxæthres, who was sitting at the table, upon hearing this started up, and would have taken the head from Jason, insisting that that part belonged to him, and not to the actor. The king, highly diverted, made Pomaxæthres the presents usual on such occasions, and rewarded Jason with a talent. The expedition of Crassus was a real tragedy, and such was the *exodium*,* or farce after it.

However, the Divine Justice punished Orodes for his cruelty, and Surena for his perjury. Orodes, envying the glory Surena had acquired, put him to death soon after. And that prince, having lost his son, Pacorus, in a battle with the Romans, fell into a languishing disorder which turned to a dropsy. His second son, Phraates, took the opportunity to give him aconite. But finding the poison worked only upon the watery humour, and was carrying off the disease with it, he took a shorter method, and strangled him with his own hands.†

* *Exodium*, in its original sense, signified the unravelling of the plot, the catastrophe of a tragedy ; and it retained that sense among the Greeks. But when the Romans began to act their light satirical pieces (of which they had always been very fond) after their tragedies, they applied the term to those pieces.

† There have been more execrable characters, but there is not, perhaps, in the history of mankind, one more contemptible than that of Crassus. His ruling passion was the most sordid lust of wealth, and the whole of his conduct, political, popular, and military, was subservient to this. If at any time he gave in to public munificence, it was with him no more than a species of commerce. By thus treating the people, he was laying out his money in the purchase of provinces. When Syria fell to his lot, the transports he discovered sprung not from the great ambition of carrying the Roman eagles over the east ; they were nothing more than the joy of a miser, when he stumbles upon a hidden treasure. Dazzled with the prospect of barbarian gold, he grasped with eagerness a command for which he had no adequate capacity. We find him embarrassed by the slightest difficulties in his military operations, and, when his obstinacy would permit him, taking his measures from the advice of his lieutenants. We look with indignation on the Roman squadrons standing, by his dispositions, as a mark for the Parthian archers, and incapable of acting either on the offensive or defensive. The Romans could not be ignorant of the Parthian method of attacking and retreating, when they had before spent so much time in Armenia. The fame of their cavalry could not be unknown in a country where it was so much dreaded. It was, therefore, the first business of the Roman general to avoid those countries which might give them any advantage in the equestrian action. But the hot scent of

NICIAS AND CRASSUS COMPARED.

ONE of the first things that occurs in this comparison is that Nicias gained his wealth in a less exceptionable manner than Crassus. The working of mines, indeed, does not seem very suitable to a man of Nicias's character, where the persons employed are commonly malefactors or barbarians, some of which work in fetters, till the damps and unwholesome air put an end to their being. But it is comparatively an honourable pursuit, when put in pallel with getting an estate by the confiscations of Sylla, or by buying houses in the midst of fires. Yet Crassus dealt as openly in these things as he did in agriculture and usury. As to the other matters which he was censured for, and which he denied—namely, his making money of his vote in the senate, his extorting it from the allies, his overreaching silly women by flattery, and his undertaking the defence of ill men ; nothing like these things was ever imputed by slander herself to Nicias. As to his wasting his money upon those who made a trade of impeachments, to prevent their doing him any harm, it was a circumstance which exposed him to ridicule ; and unworthy, perhaps, of the characters of Pericles and Aristides ; but necessary for him, who had a timidity in his nature. It was a thing which Lycurgus, the orator, afterwards made a merit of to the people : when censured for having bought off one of these trading informers, " I rejoice," said he, " that after being so long employed in the administration, I am discovered to have given money, and not taken it."

As to their expenses, Nicias appears to have been more public spirited in his. His offerings to the gods, and the games and tragedies with which he entertained the people, were so many proofs of noble and generous sentiments. It is true, all that Nicias laid out in this manner, and, indeed, his whole estate, amounted only to a small part of what Crassus expended at once, in entertaining so many myraids of men, and supplying them with bread afterwards. But it would be very strange to me, if there should be anyone who does not perceive that this vice is nothing but an inequality and inconsistency of character ;

eastern treasure made him a dupe even to the policy of the barbarians, and to arrive at this the nearest way, he sacrificed the lives of 30,000 Romans.

those who want honour. And Nicias certainly did this in raising Cleon to the command of the army, a man who had nothing to recommend him but his impudence and his bawling in the rostrum. On the other hand, I do not commend Crassus for advancing to action, in the war with Spartacus, with more expedition than prudence : though his ambition had this excuse, that he was afraid Pompey would come and snatch his laurels from him, as Mummius had done from Metellus at Corinth. But the conduct of Nicias was very absurd and mean-spirited. He would not give up to his enemy the honour and trust of commander-in-chief while he could execute that charge with ease, and had good hopes of success ; but as soon as he saw it attended with great danger, he was willing to secure himself, though he exposed the public by it. It was not thus Themistocles behaved in the Persian war. To prevent the advancement of a man to the command who had neither capacity nor principle, which he knew must have been the ruin of his country, he prevailed with him by a sum of money to give up his pretensions. And Cato stood for the tribuneship, when he saw it would involve him in the greatest trouble and danger. On the contrary, Nicias was willing enough to be general when he had only to go against Minoa, Cythera, or the poor Melians ; but if there was occasion to fight with the Lacedæmonians, he put off his armour, and intrusted the ships, the men, the warlike stores, in short the entire direction of a war which required the most consummate prudence and experience, to the ignorance and rashness of Cleon, in which he was not only unjust to himself and his own honour, but to the welfare and safety of his country. This made the Athenians send him afterwards, contrary to his inclination, against Syracuse. They thought it was not a conviction of the improbability of success, but a regard to his own ease and a want of spirit, which made him willing to deprive them of the conquest of Sicily.

There is, however, this great proof of his integrity, that though he was perpetually against war, and always declined the command, yet they failed not to appoint him to it as the ablest and best general they had. But Crassus, though he was for ever aiming at such a charge, never gained one except in the war with the gladiators ; and that only because Pompey, Metellus, and both the Luculluses were absent. This is the more remarkable, because Crassus was arrived at a high degree of authority and power. But it seems, his best friends thought him (as the comic poet expresses it)—

“In all trades skilled except the trade of war.”

However, this knowledge of his talents availed the Romans but little ; his ambition never let them rest, till they assigned him a province. The Athenians employed Nicias against his inclination ; and it was against the inclination of the Romans that Crassus led them out. Crassus involved his country in misfortunes ; but the misfortunes of Nicias were owing to his country.

Nevertheless, in this respect it is easier to commend Nicias than to blame Crassus. The capacity and skill of the former as a general kept him from being drawn away with the vain hopes of his countrymen, and he declared from the first that Sicily could not be conquered : the latter called out the Romans to the Parthian war, as an easy undertaking. In this he found himself sadly deceived ; yet his aim was great. While Cæsar was subduing the west, the Gauls, the Germans, and Britain, he attempted to penetrate to the Indian ocean on the east, and to conquer all Asia ; things which Pompey and Lucullus would have effected if they had been able. But though they were both engaged in the same designs, and made the same attempts with Crassus, their characters stood unimpeached both as to moderation and probity. If Crassus was opposed by one of the tribunes in his Parthian expedition, Pompey was opposed by the senate when he got Asia for his province. And when Cæsar had routed 300,000 Germans, Cato voted that he should be given up to that injured people, to atone for the violation of the peace. But the Roman people, paying no regard to Cato, ordered a thanksgiving to the gods for fifteen days, and thought themselves happy in the advantage gained. In what raptures then would they have been, and for how many days would they have offered sacrifices, if Crassus could have sent them an account from Babylon, that he was victorious ; and if he had proceeded from thence through Media, Persia, Hyrcania, Susa, and Bactria, and reduced them to the form of Roman provinces. For according to Euripides, if justice must be violated, and men cannot sit down quiet and contented with their present possessions, it should not be for taking the small town of Scandia, or razing such a castle as Mende ; nor yet for going in chase of the fugitive Eginitæ, who, like birds, have retired to another country : the price of injustice should be high ; so sacred a thing as right should not be invaded for a trifling consideration, for that would be treating it with contempt indeed. In fact, they who commend Alexander's expedition, and decry that of Crassus, judge of actions only by the event.

As to their military performances, several of Nicias's are very considerable. He gained many battles, and was very near

taking Syracuse. Nor were all his miscarriages so many errors ; but they were to be imputed partly to his ill health, and partly to the envy of his countrymen at home. On the other hand, Crassus committed so many errors, that Fortune had no opportunity to show him any favour ; wherefore we need not so much wonder that the Parthian power got the better of his incapacity, as that his incapacity prevailed over the good fortune of Rome.

As one of them paid the greatest attention to divination, and the other entirely disregarded it, and yet both perished alike, it is hard to say whether the observation of omens is a salutary thing or not. Nevertheless, to err on the side of religion, out of regard to ancient and received opinions, is a more pardonable thing than to err through obstinacy and presumption.

Crassus, however, was not so reproachable in his exit. He did not surrender himself, or submit to be bound, nor was he deluded with vain hopes ; but in yielding to the instances of his friends he met his fate, and fell a victim to the perfidy and injustice of the barbarians. Whereas Nicias, from a mean and unmanly fondness for life, put himself in the enemy's hands, by which means he came to a baser and more dishonourable end.

ALEXANDER.

WE shall now give the lives of Alexander the Great, and of Caesar, who overthrew Pompey ; and, as the quantity of materials is so great, we shall only promise, that we hope for indulgence though we do not give the actions in full detail and with a scrupulous exactness, but rather in a short summary ; since we are not writing Histories, but Lives. Nor is it always in the most distinguished achievements that men's virtues or vices may be best discerned ; but very often an action of small note, a short saying, or a jest, shall distinguish a person's real character more than the greatest sieges or the most important battles. Therefore, as painters in their portraits labour the likeness in the face, and particularly about the eyes, in which the peculiar turn of mind most appears, and run over the rest with a more careless hand ; so we must be permitted to strike off the features of the soul, in order to give a

real likeness of these great men, and leave to others the circumstantial detail of their labours and achievements.

It is allowed as certain, that Alexander was a descendant of Hercules by Caranus, and of Æacus by Neoptolemus. His father Philip is said to have been initiated, when very young, along with Olympias, in the mysteries at Samothrace : and having conceived an affection for her, he obtained her in marriage of her brother Arymbas, to whom he applied, because she was left an orphan. The night before the consummation of the marriage, she dreamed that a thunder-bolt fell upon her belly, which kindled a great fire, and that the flame extended itself far and wide before it disappeared. And some time after the marriage, Philip dreamed that he sealed up the queen's womb with a seal, the impression of which he thought was a lion. Most of the interpreters believed the dream announced some reason to doubt the honour of Olympias, and that Philip ought to look more closely to her conduct. But Aristander of Telmesus said it only denoted that the queen was pregnant ; for a seal is never put upon anything that is empty : and that the child would prove a boy, of a bold and lion-like courage. A serpent was also seen lying by Olympias as she slept ; which is said to have cooled Philip's affections for her more than anything, insomuch that he seldom repaired to her bed afterwards ; whether it was that he feared some enchantment from her, or abstained from her embraces because he thought them taken up by some superior being.

Some, indeed, relate the affair in another manner. They tell us, that the women of this country were of old extremely fond of the ceremonies of Orpheus, and the orgies of Bacchus, and that they were called *Clodones* and *Mimallones*, because in many things they imitated the Edonian and Thracian women about Mount Hæmus ; from whom the Greek word *threscuein* seems to be derived, which signifies the exercise of extravagant and superstitious observances. Olympias being remarkably ambitious of these inspirations, and desirous of giving the enthusiastic solemnities a more strange and horrid appearance, introduced a number of large tame serpents, which, often creeping out of the ivy and the mystic fans, and entwining about the *thyrsuses* and garlands of the women, struck the spectators with terror.

Philip, however, upon this appearance, sent Chiron of Megalopolis to consult the oracle at Delphi ; and we are told, Apollo commanded him to sacrifice to Jupiter Ammon, and to pay his homage principally to that god. It is also said, he lost

one of his eyes, which was that he applied to the chink of the door when he saw the god in his wife's embraces in the form of a serpent. According to Eratosthenes, Olympias, when she conducted Alexander on his way in his first expedition, privately discovered to him the secret of his birth, and exhorted him to behave with a dignity suitable to his divine extraction. Others affirm, that she absolutely rejected it as an impious fiction, and used to say, "Will Alexander never leave embroiling me with Juno?"

Alexander* was born on the sixth of Hecatombæon [July], which the Macedonians call *Lous*, the same day that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burned; upon which Hegesias the Magnesians has uttered a conceit frigid enough to have extinguished the flames. "It is no wonder," said he, "that the temple of Diana was burned, when she was at a distance, employed in bringing Alexander into the world." All the *Magi* who were then at Ephesus looked upon the fire as a sign which betokened a much greater misfortune: they ran about the town, beating their faces, and crying, that the day had brought forth the great scourge and destroyer of Asia.

Philip had just taken the city of Potidæa, and three messengers arrived the same day with extraordinary tidings. The first informed him that Parmenio had gained a great battle against the Illyrians; the second, that his race-horse had won the prize at the Olympic games; and the third, that Olympias was brought to bed of Alexander. His joy on that occasion was great, as might naturally be expected; and the soothsayers increased it, by assuring him, that his son, who was born in the midst of three victories, must of course prove invincible.

The statues of Alexander that most resembled him were those of Lysippus, who alone had his permission to represent him in marble. The turn of his head, which leaned a little to one side, and the quickness of his eye, in which many of his friends and successors most affected to imitate him, were best hit off by that artist. Apelles painted him in the character of Jupiter armed with thunder, but did not succeed as to his complexion. He overcharged the colouring, and made his skin too brown; whereas he was fair, with a tinge of red in his face and upon his breast. We read in the memoirs of Aristoxenus, that a most agreeable scent proceeded from his skin, and that his breath and whole body were so fragrant, that they perfumed his undergarments. The cause of this might possibly be his hot temperament. For, as Theophrastus conjectures, it is the concoction of

* B.C. 354.

moisture by heat which produces sweet odours ; and hence it is that those countries which are driest, and most parched with heat, produce spices of the best kind, and in the greatest quantity ; the sun exhaling from the surface of bodies that moisture which is the instrument of corruption. It seems to have been the same heat of constitution which made Alexander so much inclined to drink, and so subject to passion.

His continence showed itself at an early period ; for, though he was vigorous, or rather violent in his other pursuits, he was not easily moved by the pleasures of the body ; and if he tasted them, it was with great moderation. But there was something superlatively great and sublime in his ambition, far above his years. It was not all sorts of honour that he courted, nor did he seek it in every track, like his father, Philip, who was as proud of his eloquence as any sophist could be, and who had the vanity to record his victories in the Olympic chariot-race in the impression of his coins. Alexander, on the other hand, when he was asked by some of the people about him, whether he would not run in the Olympic race (for he was swift of foot), answered, " Yes, if I had kings for my antagonists." It appears that he had a perfect aversion to the whole exercise of wrestling.* For, though he exhibited many other sorts of games and public diversions, in which he proposed prizes for tragic poets, for musicians who practised upon the flute and lyre, and for rhapsodists too ; though he entertained the people with the hunting of all manner of wild beasts, and with fencing or fighting with the staff, yet he gave no encouragement to boxing or to the *Pancratiun*.†

Ambassadors from Persia happening to arrive in the absence of his father, Philip, and Alexander receiving them in his stead, gained upon them greatly by his politeness and solid sense. He asked them no childish or trifling question, but inquired the distances of places, and the roads through the upper provinces of Asia : he desired to be informed of the character of their king, in what manner he behaved to his enemies, and in what the strength and power of Persia consisted. The ambassadors were struck with admiration, and looked upon the celebrated shrewdness of Philip as nothing in comparison of the lofty and enterprising genius of his son. Accordingly, whenever news was brought that Philip had taken some strong town, or won

* Philopoemen, like him, had an aversion for wrestling, because all the exercises which fit a man to excel in it make him unfit for war.

† If it be asked how this shows that Alexander did not love wrestling, the answer is, the *Pancratiun* was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.

some great battle, the young man, instead of appearing delighted with it, used to say to his companions, "My father will go on conquering, till there be nothing extraordinary left for you and me to do." As neither pleasure nor riches, but valour and glory, were his great objects, he thought, that in proportion as the dominions he was to receive from his father grew greater, there would be less room for him to distinguish himself. Every new acquisition of territory he considered as a diminution of his scene of action; for he did not desire to inherit a kingdom that would bring him opulence, luxury, and pleasure; but one that would afford him wars, conflicts, and all the exercise of great ambition.

He had a number of tutors and preceptors. Leonidas, a relation of the queen, and a man of great severity of manners, was at the head of them. He did not like the name of preceptor, though the employment was important and honourable; and, indeed, his dignity and alliance to the royal family gave him the title of the prince's governor. He who had both the name and business of preceptor was Lysimachus, the Acarnanian; a man who had neither merit nor politeness, nor anything to recommend him, but his calling himself Phœnix; Alexander, Achilles; and Philip, Peleus. This procured him some attention, and the second place about the prince's person.

When Philonicus, the Thessalian, offered the horse named Bucephalus in sale to Philip, at the price of thirteen talents,* the king, with the prince and many others, went into the field to see some trial made of him. The horse appeared extremely vicious and unmanageable, and was so far from suffering himself to be mounted, that he would not bear to be spoken to, but turned fiercely upon all the grooms. Philip was displeased at their bringing him so wild and ungovernable a horse, and bade them take him away. But Alexander, who had observed him well, said, "What a horse are they losing, for want of skill and spirit to manage him!" Philip at first took no notice of this; but, upon the prince's often repeating the same expression, and showing great uneasiness, he said, "Young man, you find fault with your elders, as if you knew more than they, or could

* That is £2518, 15s. sterling. This will appear a moderate price compared with what we find in Varro (*de Re Rustic.* l. iii. c. 2), viz., that Q. Axius, a senator, gave 400,000 sesterces for an ass; and still more moderate, when compared with the account of Tavernier, that some horses in Arabia were valued at 100,000 crowns.

Pliny, in his *Natural History*, says, the price of Bucephalus was sixteen talents.

manage the horse better." "And I certainly could," answered the prince. "If you should not be able to ride him, what forfeiture will you submit to for your rashness?" "I will pay the price of the horse."

Upon this all the company laughed, but the king and prince agreeing as to the forfeiture, Alexander ran to the horse, and laying hold on the bridle, turned him to the sun; for he had observed, it seems, that the shadow which fell before the horse, and continually moved as he moved, greatly disturbed him. While his fierceness and fury lasted, he kept speaking to him softly and stroking him; after which he gently let fall his mantle, leaped lightly upon his back, and got his seat very safe. Then, without pulling the reins too hard, or using either whip or spur, he set him a-going. As soon as he perceived his uneasiness abated, and that he wanted only to run, he put him in a full gallop, and pushed him on both with the voice and spur.

Philip and all his court were in great distress for him at first, and a profound silence took place. But when the prince had turned him and brought him straight back, they all received him with loud acclamations, except his father, who wept for joy, and, kissing him, said, "Seek another kingdom, my son, that may be worthy of thy abilities; for Macedonia is too small for thee." Perceiving that he did not easily submit to authority, because he would not be forced to anything, but that he might be led to his duty by the gentler hand of reason, he took the method of persuasion rather than of command. He saw that his education was a matter of too great importance to be trusted to the ordinary masters in music, and the common circle of sciences; and that his genius (to use the expression of Sophocles) required—

"The rudder's guidance and the curb's restraint."

He therefore sent for Aristotle, the most celebrated and learned of all the philosophers; and the reward he gave him for forming his son was not only honourable, but remarkable for its propriety. He had formerly dismantled the city of Stagira, where that philosopher was born, and now he rebuilt it, and re-established the inhabitants, who had either fled or been reduced to slavery.* He also prepared a lawn, called Mieza, for their studies and literary conversations; where they still show us Aristotle's stone, seats, and shady walks.

* Pliny the elder and Valerius Maximus tell us that Stagira was rebuilt by Alexander, and this when Aristotle was very old.

Alexander gained from him not only moral and political knowledge, but was also instructed in those more secret and profound branches of science, which they call *acroamatic* and *epoptic*, and which they did not communicate to every common scholar.* For when Alexander was in Asia, and received information that Aristotle had published some books, in which those points were discussed, he wrote him a letter in behalf of philosophy, in which he blamed the course he had taken. The following is a copy of it—

“Alexander to Aristotle, prosperity. You did wrong in publishing the *acroamatic* parts of science.† In what shall we differ from others, if the sublimer knowledge which we gained from you be made common to all the world? For my part I had rather excel the bulk of mankind in the superior parts of learning than in the extent of power and dominion. Farewell.”

Aristotle, in compliment to this ambition of his, and by way of excuse for himself, made answer, that those points were published and not published. In fact his book of metaphysics is written in such a manner that no one can learn that branch of science from it, much less teach it others: it serves only to refresh the memories of those who have been taught by a master.

It appears also to me that it was by Aristotle rather than any other person that Alexander was assisted in the study of physic, for he not only loved the theory, but the practice too, as is clear from his epistles, where we find that he prescribed to his friends medicines and a proper *regimen*.

He loved polite learning, too, and his natural thirst of knowledge made him a man of extensive reading. The *Iliad*, he thought, as well as called, a portable treasure of military knowledge; and he had a copy corrected by Aristotle, which is called *the casket copy*.‡ Onesicritus informs us that he used to lay it under his pillow with his sword. As he could not find many other books in the upper provinces of Asia, he wrote to Harpalus for a supply; who sent him the works of Philistus, most of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus, and the Dithyrambics of Telestus§ and Philoxenus.

* The scholars in general were instructed only in the *exoteric* doctrines.

† Doctrines taught by private communication, and delivered *viva voce*.

‡ He kept it in a rich casket found among the spoils of Darius. A correct copy of this edition, revised by Aristotle, Callisthenes, and Anaxarchus, was published after the death of Alexander. “Darius,” said Alexander, “used to keep his ointments in this casket; but I, who have no time to anoint myself, will convert it to a nobler use.”

§ Telestus was a poet of some reputation, and a monument was erected to his memory by Aristatus the Sycionion tyrant. Protegenes was sent

Aristotle was the man he admired in his younger years, and, as he said himself, he had no less affection for him than for his own father : from the one he derived the blessing of life, from the other the blessing of a good life. But afterwards he looked upon him with an eye of suspicion. He never, indeed, did the philosopher any harm ; but the testimonies of his regard being neither so extraordinary nor so endearing as before, he discovered something of a coldness. However, his love of philosophy, which he was either born with, or at least conceived at an early period, never quitted his soul ; as it appears from the honours he paid Anaxarchus, the fifty talents he sent Xenocrates,* and his attentions to Dandamus and Calanus.

When Philip went upon his expedition against Byzantium, Alexander was only sixteen years of age, yet he was left regent of Macedonia and keeper of the seal. The Medari † rebelling during his regency, he attacked and overthrew them, took their city, expelled the barbarians, planted there a colony of people collected from various parts, and gave it the name of Alexandropolis. He fought in the battle of Chæronea against the Greeks, and is said to have been the first man that broke the *sacred band* of Thebans. In our times an old oak was shown near the Cephissus, called *Alexander's oak*, because his tent had been pitched under it ; and a piece of ground at no great distance, in which the Macedonians had buried their dead.

This early display of great talents made Philip very fond of his son, so that it was with pleasure he heard the Macedonians call Alexander *king*, and him only *general*. But the troubles which his new marriage and his amours caused in his family, and the bickerings among the women dividing the whole kingdom into parties, involved him in many quarrels with his son ; all which were heightened by Olympias, who, being a woman of a jealous and vindictive temper, inspired Alexander with unfavourable sentiments of his father. The misunderstanding broke out into a flame on the following occasion : Philip fell in love with a young lady named Cleopatra, at an

for to paint this monument, and not arriving within the limited time, was in danger of the tyrant's displeasure ; but the celerity and excellence of his execution saved him. Philoxenus was his scholar. Philistus was an historian often cited by Plutarch.

* The philosopher took but a small part of this money, and sent the rest back ; telling the giver he had more occasion for it himself, because he had more people to maintain.

† We know of no such people as the Medari ; but a people called Mædi there was in Thrace, who used to make inroads into Macedonia.

unseasonable time of life, and married her. When they were celebrating the nuptials, her uncle Attalus, intoxicated with liquor, desired the Macedonians to entreat the gods that this marriage of Philip and Cleopatra might produce a lawful heir to the crown. Alexander, provoked at this, said, "What then, dost thou take me for a bastard?" and at the same time he threw his cup at his head. Hereupon Philip rose up and drew his sword; but, fortunately for them both, his passion and the wine he had drank made him stumble, and he fell. Alexander, taking an insolent advantage of this circumstance, said, "Men of Macedon, see there the man who was preparing to pass from Europe into Asia! he is not able to pass from one table to another without falling." After this insult, he carried off Olympias, and placed her in Epirus. Illyricum was the country he pitched upon for his own retreat.

In the meantime Demaratus, who had engagements of hospitality with the royal family of Macedon, and who, on that account, could speak his mind freely, came to pay Philip a visit. After the first civilities, Philip asked him what sort of agreement subsisted among the Greeks. Demaratus answered, "There is, doubtless, much propriety in your inquiring after the harmony of Greece, who have filled your own house with so much discord and disorder." This reproof brought Philip to himself, and through the mediation of Demaratus he prevailed with Alexander to return.

But another event soon disturbed their repose. Pexodorus, the Persian governor in Caria, being desirous to draw Philip into a league, offensive and defensive, by means of an alliance between their families, offered his eldest daughter in marriage to Aridaeus, the son of Philip, and sent Aristocritus into Macedonia to treat about it. Alexander's friends and his mother now infused notions into him again, though perfectly groundless, that, by so noble a match, and the support consequent upon it, Philip designed the crown for Aridaeus.

Alexander, in the uneasiness these suspicions gave him, sent one Thessalus, a player, into Caria, to desire the grandee to pass by Aridaeus, who was of spurious birth, and deficient in point of understanding, and to take the lawful heir to the crown into his alliance. Pexodorus was infinitely more pleased with this proposal. But Philip no sooner had intelligence of it than he went to Alexander's apartment, taking along with him Philotas, the son of Parmenio, one of his most intimate friends and companions, and, in his presence, reproached him with his degeneracy and meanness of spirit, in thinking of being son-in-law

to a man of Caria, one of the slaves of a barbarian king. At the same time he wrote to the Corinthians,* insisting that they should send Thessalus to him in chains. Harpalus and Niarchus, Phrygius and Ptolemy, some of the other companions of the prince, he banished. But Alexander afterwards recalled them, and treated them with great distinction.

Some time after the Carian negotiation, Pausanias being abused by order of Attalus and Cleopatra, and not having justice done him for the outrage, killed Philip, who refused that justice. Olympias was thought to have been principally concerned in inciting the young man to that act of revenge ; but Alexander did not escape uncensured. It is said that when Pausanias applied to him, after having been so dishonoured, and lamented his misfortune, Alexander, by way of answer, repeated that line in the tragedy of Medea :—†

“The bridal father, bridegroom, and the bride.”

It must be acknowledged, however, that he caused diligent search to be made after the persons concerned in the assassination, and took care to have them punished ; and he expressed his indignation at Olympias’s cruel treatment of Cleopatra in his absence.

He was only twenty years old when he succeeded to the crown, and he found the kingdom torn in pieces by dangerous parties and implacable animosities. The barbarous nations, even those that bordered upon Macedonia, could not brook subjection, and they longed for their natural kings. Philip had subdued Greece by his victorious arms, but not having had time to accustom her to the yoke, he had thrown matters into confusion, rather than produced any firm settlement, and he left the whole in a tumultuous state. The young king’s Macedonian counsellors, alarmed at the troubles which threatened him, advised him to give up Greece entirely, or at least to make no attempts upon it with the sword ; and to recall the wavering barbarians in a mild manner to their duty, by applying healing measures to the beginning of the revolt. Alexander, on the contrary, was of opinion that the only way to security, and a thorough establishment of his affairs, was to proceed with spirit and magnanimity. For he was persuaded that if he appeared

* Thessalus, upon his return from Asia, must have retired to Corinth ; for the Corinthians had nothing to do in Caria.

† The persons meant in the tragedy were Jason, Creusa, and Creon : and in Alexander’s application of it, Philip is the bridegroom, Cleopatra the bride, and Attalus the father.

to abate of his dignity in the least article, he would be universally insulted. He therefore quieted the commotions, and put a stop to the rising wars among the barbarians, by marching with the utmost expedition as far as the Danube, where he fought a great battle with Syrmus, king of the Triballi, and defeated him.

Some time after this, having intelligence that the Thebans had revolted, and that the Athenians had adopted the same sentiments, he resolved to show them he was no longer a boy, and advanced immediately through the pass of Thermopylæ. "Demosthenes," said he, "called me a boy, while I was in Illyricum, and among the Triballi, and a stripling when in Thessaly ; but I will show him before the walls of Athens that I am a man."

When he made his appearance before Thebes, he was willing to give the inhabitants time to change their sentiments. He only demanded Phœnix and Prothytes, the first promoters of the revolt, and proclaimed an amnesty to all the rest. But the Thebans, in their turn, demanded that he should deliver up to them Philotas and Antipater, and invited, by sound of trumpet, all men to join them who chose to assist in recovering the liberty of Greece. Alexander then gave the reins to the Macedonians, and the war began with great fury. The Thebans, who had the combat to maintain against forces vastly superior in number, behaved with a courage and ardour far above their strength. But when the Macedonian garrison fell down from Cadmea, and charged them in the rear, they were surrounded on all sides, and most of them cut in pieces. The city was taken, plundered, and levelled with the ground.

Alexander expected that the rest of Greece, astonished and intimidated by so dreadful a punishment of the Thebans, would submit in silence. Yet he found a more plausible pretence for his severity ; giving out that his late proceedings were intended to gratify his allies, being adopted in pursuance of complaints made against Thebes by the people of Phocis and Plataea. He exempted the priests, all that the Macedonians were bound to by the ties of hospitality, the posterity of Pindar, and such as had opposed the revolt ; the rest he sold for slaves, to the number of 30,000. There were above 6000 killed in the battle.

The calamities which that wretched city suffered were various and horrible. A party of Thracians demolished the house of Timoclea, a woman of quality and honour. The soldiers carried off the booty ; and the captain, after having violated the lady, asked her whether she had not some gold and silver concealed. She said she had ; and taking him alone into the garden,

showed him a well, into which, she told him, she had thrown everything of value, when the city was taken. The officer stooped down to examine the well ; upon which she pushed him in, and then despatched him with stones. The Thracians, coming up, seized and bound her hands, and carried her before Alexander, who immediately perceived by her look and gait, and the fearless manner in which she followed that savage crew, that she was a woman of quality and superior sentiments. The king demanded who she was. She answered, "I am the sister of Theagenes, who, in capacity of general, fought Philip for the liberty of Greece, and fell in the battle of Chæronea." Alexander, admiring her answer and the bold action she had performed, commanded her to be set at liberty, and her children with her.

As for the Athenians, he forgave them, though they expressed great concern at the misfortune of Thebes. For, though they were upon the point of celebrating the feast of the great mysteries, they omitted it on account of the mourning that took place, and received such of the Thebans as escaped the general wreck, with all imaginable kindness, into their city. But whether his fury, like that of a lion, was satiated with blood, or whether he had a mind to efface a most cruel and barbarous action by an act of clemency, he not only overlooked the complaints he had against them, but desired them to look well to their affairs, because if anything happened to him, Athens would give law to Greece.

It is said the calamities he brought upon the Thebans gave him uneasiness long after, and on that account he treated many others with less rigour. It is certain he imputed the murder of Clitus, which he committed in his wine, and the Macedonians' dastardly refusal to proceed in the Indian expedition, through which his wars and his glory were imperfect, to the anger of Bacchus, the avenger of Thebes. And there was not a Theban who survived the fatal overthrow, that was denied any favour he requested of him. Thus much concerning the Theban war.

A general assembly of the Greeks being held at the Isthmus of Corinth, they came to a resolution to send their quotas with Alexander against the Persians, and he was unanimously elected captain-general. Many statesmen and philosophers came to congratulate him on the occasion ; and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope, who then lived at Corinth, would be of the number. Finding, however, that he made but little account of Alexander, and that he preferred the enjoyment of his leisure in a part of the suburbs called Cranium, he went to see him. Diogenes

happened to be lying in the sun ; and at the approach of so many people, he raised himself up a little, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. The king addressed him in an obliging manner, and asked him if there was anything he could serve him in. "Only stand a little out of my sunshine," said Diogenes. Alexander, we are told, was struck with such surprise at finding himself so little regarded, and saw something so great in that carelessness, that, while his courtiers were ridiculing the philosopher as a monster, he said, "If I were not Alexander, I should wish to be Diogenes."

He chose to consult the oracle about the event of the war, and for that purpose went to Delphi. He happened to arrive there on one of the days called inauspicious, upon which the law permitted no man to put his question. At first he sent to the prophetess, to entreat her to do her office ; but finding she refused to comply, and alleged the law in her excuse, he went himself, and drew her by force into the temple. Then, as if conquered by his violence, she said, "My son, thou art invincible." Alexander, hearing this, said he wanted no other answer, for he had the very oracle he desired.

When he was on the point of setting out upon his expedition, he had many signs from the divine powers. Among the rest, the statue of Orpheus in Libethra,* which was of cypress wood, was in a profuse sweat for several days. The generality apprehended this to be an ill presage ; but Aristander bade them dismiss their fears. It signified, he said, that Alexander would perform actions so worthy to be celebrated, that they would cost the poets and musicians much labour and sweat.

As to the number of his troops, those that put it at the least, say he carried over 30,000 foot and 5000 horse ; and they who put it at the most, tell us his army consisted of 34,000 foot and 4000 horse. The money provided for their subsistence and pay, according to Aristobulus, was only seventy talents ; Duris says he had no more than would maintain them one month ; but Onesicritus affirms that he borrowed 200 talents for that purpose.

However, though his provision was so small, he chose, at his embarkation, to inquire into the circumstances of his friends ; and to one he gave a farm, to another a village ; to this the revenue of a borough, and to that of a post. When in this manner he had disposed of almost all the estates of the crown, Perdicas asked him what he had reserved for himself. The king answered, "Hope." "Well," replied Perdicas, "we who

* This Libethra was in Thrace.

share in your labours will also take part in your hopes." In consequence of which, he refused the estate allotted him, and some others of the king's friends did the same. As for those who accepted his offers, or applied to him for favours, he served them with equal pleasure ; and by these means most of his Macedonian revenues were distributed and gone. Such was the spirit and disposition with which he passed the Hellespont.

As soon as he landed, he went up to Ilium, where he sacrificed to Minerva, and offered libations to the heroes. He also anointed the pillar upon Achilles's tomb with oil, and ran round it with his friends, naked, according to the custom that obtains ; after which he put a crown upon it, declaring he thought that hero extremely happy, in having found a faithful friend while he lived, and after his death an excellent herald to set forth his praise. As he went about the city to look upon the curiosities, he was asked whether he chose to see Paris's lyre. "I set but little value," said he, "upon the lyre of Paris ; but it would give me pleasure to see that of Achilles, to which he sung the glorious actions of the brave." *

In the meantime, Darius's generals had assembled a great army, and taken post upon the banks of the Granicus ; so that Alexander was under the necessity of fighting there, to open the gates of Asia. Many of his officers were apprehensive of the depth of the river, and the rough and uneven banks on the other side ; and some thought a proper regard should be paid to a traditionary usage with respect to the time. For the kings of Macedon used never to march out to war in the month *Daisius*. Alexander cured them of this piece of superstition, by ordering that month to be called *the second Artemisius*. And when Parmenio objected to his attempting a passage so late in the day, he said the Hellespont would blush if, after having passed it, he should be afraid of the Granicus. At the same time he threw himself into the stream with thirteen troops of horse ; and as he advanced in the face of the enemy's arrows, in spite of the steep banks, which were lined with cavalry well armed, and of the rapidity of the river, which often bore him down or covered him with its waves, his motions seemed rather the effects of madness than sound sense. He held on, however,

* This alludes to that passage in the ninth book of the *Iliad*—

"Amused at ease the godlike man they found,
Pleased with the solemn harp's harmonious sound ;
With these he soothes his angry soul, and sings
Th' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings."

—POPE.

till, by great and surprising efforts, he gained the opposite banks, which the mud made extremely slippery and dangerous. When he was there, he was forced to stand an engagement with the enemy, hand to hand, and with great confusion on his part, because they attacked his men as fast as they came over, before he had time to form them. For the Persian troops charging with loud shouts, and with horse against horse, made good use of their spears, and, when those were broken, of their swords.

Numbers pressed hard on Alexander, because he was easy to be distinguished both by his buckler and by his crest, on each side of which was a large and beautiful plume of white feathers. His cuirass was pierced by a javelin at the joint; but he escaped unhurt. After this, Rhœsaces and Spithridates, two officers of great distinction, attacked him at once. He avoided Spithridates with great address, and received Rhœsaces with such a stroke of his spear upon his breastplate, that it broke in pieces. Then he drew his sword to despatch him, but his adversary still maintained the combat. Meantime, Spithridates came up on one side of him, and raising himself up on his horse, gave him a blow with his battle-axe, which cut off his crest with one side of the plume. Nay, the force of it was such, that the helmet could hardly resist it; it even penetrated to his hair. Spithridates was going to repeat his stroke, when the celebrated Clitus prevented him, by running him through the body with a spear. At the same time Alexander brought Rhœsaces to the ground with his sword.

While the cavalry were fighting with so much fury, the Macedonian phalanx passed the river, and then the infantry likewise engaged. The enemy made no great or long resistance, but soon turned their backs and fled, all but the Grecian mercenaries, who making a stand upon an eminence, desired Alexander to give his word of honour that they should be spared. But that prince, influenced rather by his passion than his reason, instead of giving them quarter, advanced to attack them, and was so warmly received that he had his horse killed under him. It was not, however, the famous Bucephalus. In this dispute he had more of his men killed and wounded than in all the rest of the battle; for here they had to do with experienced soldiers, who fought with a courage heightened by despair.

The barbarians, we are told, lost in this battle 20,000 foot and 2500 horse;* whereas Alexander had no more than thirty-four

* Some manuscripts mention only 10,000 foot killed, which is the number we have in Diodorus (505). Arrian (p. 45) makes the number of horse killed only 1000.

men killed,* nine of which were the infantry. To do honour to their memory, he erected a statue to each of them in brass, the workmanship of Lysippus. And that the Greeks might have their share in the glory of the day, he sent them presents out of the spoil ; to the Athenians in particular he sent 300 bucklers. Upon the rest of the spoils he put this pompous inscription, WON BY ALEXANDER THE SON OF PHILIP, AND THE GREEKS (EXCEPTING THE LACEDÆMONIANS), OF THE BARBARIANS IN ASIA. The greatest part of the plate, the purple furniture, and other things of that kind which he took from the Persians, he sent to his mother.

This battle made a great and immediate change in the face of Alexander's affairs ; insomuch that Sardis, the principal ornament of the Persian empire on the maritime side, made its submission. All the other cities followed its example, except Halicarnassus and Miletus ; these he took by storm, and subdued all the adjacent country. After this he remained some time in suspense as to the course he should take. One while he was for going with great expedition, to risk all upon the fate of one battle with Darius ; another while he was for first reducing all the maritime provinces ; that when he had exercised and strengthened himself by those intermediate actions and acquisitions, he might then march against that prince.

There is a spring in Lycia, near the city of the Xanthians, which, they tell us, at that time turned its course of its own accord, and overflowing its banks, threw up a plate of brass, upon which were engraved certain ancient characters, signifying that the Persian empire would one day come to a period, and be destroyed by the Greeks. Encouraged by this prophecy, he hastened to reduce all the coast, as far as Phœnicē† and Cilicia. His march through Pamphylia has afforded matter to many historians for pompous description, as if it was by the interposition of Heaven that the sea retired before Alexander, which at other times ran there with so strong a current, that the breaker rocks at the foot of the mountain very seldom were left bare. Menander, in his pleasant way, refers to this pretended miracle in one of his comedies :

* Arrian (47) says, there were about twenty-five of the king's *friends* killed ; and of persons of less note, sixty horse and thirty foot. Q. Curtius informs us it was only the twenty-five *friends* who had statues. They were erected at Dia, a city of Macedonia, from whence Q. Metellus removed them long after, and carried them to Rome.

† This Phœnicē, as Palermius has observed, was a district of Lycia or Pamphylia,

“How like great ALEXANDER! Do I seek
A friend? Spontaneous he presents himself.
Have I to march where seas indignant roll?
The sea retires, and there I march.”

But Alexander himself, in his Epistles, makes no miracle of it;* he only says, he marched from Phaselis by the way called *Climax*.

He had stayed some time at Phaselis; and having found in the market-place a statue of Theodectes, who was of that place, but then dead, he went out one evening when he had drank freely at supper, in masquerade, and covered the statue with garlands. Thus, in an hour of festivity, he paid an agreeable compliment to the memory of a man with whom he had formerly had a connection, by means of Aristotle and philosophy.

After this he subdued such of the Pisidians as had revolted, and conquered Phrygia. Upon taking Gordium, which is said to have been the seat of the ancient Midas, he found the famed chariot, fastened with cords, made of the bark of the cornel-tree, and was informed of a tradition, firmly believed among the barbarians, that the Fates had decreed the empire of the world to the man who should untie the knot. Most historians say that it was twisted so many private ways, and the ends so artfully concealed within, that Alexander, finding he could not untie it, cut it asunder with his sword, and so made many ends instead of two. But Aristobulus affirms, that he easily untied it, by taking out the pin which fastened the yoke to the beam, and then drawing out the yoke itself.

His next acquisitions were Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; and there news was brought him of the death of Memnon,* who

* There is likewise a passage in Strabo, which fully proves that there was no miracle in it:—“Near the city of Phaselis,” says he, “between Lycia and Pamphylia, there is a passage by the sea-side, through which Alexander marched his army. This passage is very narrow, and lies between the shore and the mountain *Climax*, which overlooks the Pamphylian sea. It is dry at low water, so that travellers pass through it with safety; but when the sea is high it is overflowed. It was then the winter season, and Alexander, who depended much upon his good fortune, was resolved to set out without staying till the floods were abated; so that his men were forced to march up to the middle in water.”—STRAB. lib. xiv.

Josephus refers to this passage of Alexander, to gain the more credit among the Greeks and Romans to the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea.

† Upon the death of Memnon, who had begun with great success to reduce the Greek islands, and was on the point of invading Eubœa, Darius was at a loss whom to employ. While he was in this suspense, Charidemus, an Athenian, who had served with great reputation under Philip of

was the most respectable officer Darius had in the maritime parts of his kingdom, and likely to have given the invader most trouble. This confirmed him in his resolution of marching into the upper provinces of Asia.

By this time Darius had taken his departure from Susa, full of confidence in his numbers, for his army consisted of no less than 600,000 combatants; and greatly encouraged besides by a dream, which the *Magi* had interpreted rather in the manner they thought would please him than with a regard to probability. He dreamed that he saw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, and that Alexander, in the dress which he, Darius, had formerly worn, when one of the king's couriers, acted as his servant; after which Alexander went into the temple of Belus, and there suddenly disappeared. By this Heaven seems to have signified that prosperity and honour would attend the Macedonians; and that Alexander would become master of Asia, like Darius before him, who, of a simple courier, became a king; but that he would nevertheless soon die, and leave his glory behind him.

Darius was still more encouraged by Alexander's long stay in Cilicia, which he looked upon as the effect of his fear. But the real cause of his stay was sickness, which some attribute to his great fatigues, and others to his bathing in the river Cydnus, whose water is extremely cold. His physicians durst not give him any medicines, because they thought themselves not so certain of the cure, as of the danger they must incur in the application; for they feared the Macedonians, if they did not succeed, would suspect them of some bad practice. Philip, the Acarnanian, saw how desperate the king's case was, as well as the rest; but, beside the confidence he had in his friendship, he thought it the highest ingratitude, when his master was in so much danger, not to risk something with him, in exhausting all his art for his relief. He therefore attempted the cure, and found no difficulty in persuading the king to wait with patience

Macedon, but was now very zealous for the Persian interest, attempted to set the king and his ministers right. "While you, sir," said he to Darius, "are safe, the empire can never be in great danger. Let me, therefore, exhort you never to expose your person, but to make choice of some able general to march against your enemy. One hundred thousand men will be more than sufficient, provided a third of them be mercenaries, to compel him to abandon this enterprise, and if you will honour me with the command, I will be accountable for the success of what I advise." Darius was ready to accede to the proposal; but the Persian grandees, through envy, accused Charidemus of a treasonable design, and effected his ruin. Darius repented in a few days, but it was then too late. That able counsellor and general was condemned and executed.—DIOD. SIC. l. xviii. Q. CURT. l. iii.

till his medicine was prepared, or to take it when ready ; so desirous was he of a speedy recovery, in order to prosecute the war.

In the meantime, Parmenio sent him a letter from the camp, advising him to beware of Philip, whom, he said, Darius had prevailed upon, by presents of infinite value, and the promise of his daughter in marriage, to take him off by poison. As soon as Alexander had read the letter, he put it under his pillow, without showing it to any of his friends. The time appointed being come, Philip, with the king's friends, entered the chamber, having the cup which contained the medicine in his hand. The king received it freely, without the least marks of suspicion, and at the same time put the letter in his hands. It was a striking situation, and more interesting than any scene in a tragedy ; the one reading while the other was drinking. They looked upon each other, but with a very different air. The king, with an open and unembarrassed countenance, expressed his regard for Philip, and the confidence he had in his honour ; Philip's looks showed his indignation at the calumny. One while he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, protesting his fidelity ; another while he threw himself down by the bedside, entreating his master to be of good courage and trust to his care.

The medicine, indeed, was so strong, and overpowered his spirits in such a manner, that at first he was speechless, and discovered scarce any sign of sense or life. But afterwards he was soon relieved by this faithful physician,* and recovered so well that he was able to show himself to the Macedonians, whose distress did not abate till he came personally before them.

There was in the army of Darius a Macedonian fugitive, named Amyntas, who knew perfectly well the disposition of Alexander. This man, perceiving that Darius prepared to march through the straits in quest of Alexander, begged of him to remain where he was, and take the advantage of receiving an enemy, so much inferior to him in number, upon large and spacious plains. Darius answered, he was afraid in that case the enemy would fly without coming to an action, and Alexander escape him. " If that is all your fear," replied the Macedonian, " let it give you no farther uneasiness ; for he will come to seek you, and is already on his march." However, his representations had no effect : Darius set out for Cilicia ; and Alexander was making for Syria in quest of him : but happening to miss

* In three days' time.

each other in the night, they both turned back ; Alexander rejoicing in his good fortune, and hastening to meet Darius in the straits ; while Darius endeavoured to disengage himself, and recover his former camp. For by this time he was sensible of his error in throwing himself into ground hemmed in by the sea on one side, and the mountains on the other, and intersected by the river Pinarus ; so that it was impracticable for cavalry, and his infantry could only act in small and broken parties, while, at the same time, this situation was extremely convenient for the enemy's inferior numbers.

Thus fortune befriended Alexander as to the scene of action ; but the skilful disposition of his forces contributed still more to his gaining the victory. As his army was very small in comparison of that of Darius, he took care to draw it up so as to prevent its being surrounded, by stretching out his right wing farther than the enemy's left. In that wing he acted in person, and, fighting in the foremost ranks, put the barbarians to flight. He was wounded, however, in the thigh, and, according to Chares, by Darius, who engaged him hand to hand. But Alexander, in the account he gave Antipater of the battle, does not mention who it was that wounded him. He only says he received a wound in his thigh, by a sword, and that no dangerous consequences followed it.

The victory was a very signal one ; for he killed above 110,000 of the enemy.* Nothing was wanting to complete it but the taking of Darius ; and that prince escaped narrowly, having got the start of his pursuer only by four or five furlongs. Alexander took his chariot and his bow, and returned with them to his Macedonians. He found them loading themselves with the plunder of the enemy's camp, which was rich and various ; though Darius, to make his troops fitter for action, had left most of the baggage in Damascus. The Macedonians had reserved for their master the tent of Darius, in which he found officers of the household magnificently clothed, rich furniture, and great quantities of gold and silver.

As soon as he had put off his armour, he went to the bath, saying to those about him, " Let us go and refresh ourselves, after the fatigues of the field, in the bath of Darius." " Nay, rather," said one of his friends, " in the bath of Alexander ; for the goods of the conquered are, and should be called, the conqueror's." When he had taken a view of the basons, vials, boxes, and other vases curiously wrought in gold, smelled the fragrant odours of essences, and seen the splendid furniture of

* Diodorus says 130,000.

spacious apartments, he turned to his friends, and said, "This, then, it seems, it was to be a king!"*

As he was sitting down to table, an account was brought him, that among the prisoners were the mother and wife of Darius, and two unmarried daughters; and that upon seeing his chariot and bow, they broke out into great lamentations, concluding that he was dead. Alexander, after some pause, during which he was rather commiserating their misfortunes than rejoicing in his own success, sent Leonatus to assure them that Darius was not dead; that they had nothing to fear from Alexander, for his dispute with Darius was only for empire; and that they should find themselves provided for in the same manner as when Darius was in his greatest prosperity. If this message to the captive princesses was gracious and humane, his actions was still more so. He allowed them to do the funeral honours to what Persians they pleased, and for that purpose furnished them out of the spoils with robes, and all the other decorations that was customary. They had as many domestics, and were served in all respects in as honourable a manner as before; indeed, their appointments were greater. But there was another part of his behaviour to them still more noble and princely. Though they were now captives, he considered that they were ladies, not only of high rank, but of great modesty and virtue, and took care that they should not hear an indecent word, nor have the least cause to suspect any danger to their honour. Nay, as if they had been in a holy temple, or asylum of virgins, rather than in an enemy's camp, they lived unseen and unapproached, in the most sacred privacy.

It is said the wife of Darius was one of the most beautiful women, as Darius was one of the tallest and handsomest men in the world, and that their daughters much resembled them. But Alexander, no doubt, thought it more glorious and worthy of a king to conquer himself than to subdue his enemies, and therefore never approached one of them. Indeed, his continence was such, that he knew not any woman before his marriage, except Barsine, who became a widow by the death of her husband Memnon, and was taken prisoner near Damascus. She was well versed in the Greek literature, a woman of the most agreeable temper, and of royal extraction;

* As if he had said, "Could a king place his happiness in such enjoyments as these?" For Alexander was not, till long after this, corrupted by the Persian luxury.

for her father Artabazus was grandson to a king of Persia.* According to Aristobulus, it was Parmenio that put Alexander upon this connection with so accomplished a woman, whose beauty was her least perfection. As for the other female captives, though they were tall and beautiful, Alexander took no further notice of them than to say, by way of jest, "What eyesores these Persian women are!" He found a counter-charm in the beauty of self-government and sobriety; and, in the strength of that, passed them by as so many statues.

Philoxenus, who commanded his forces upon the coast, acquainted him by letter, that there was one Theodorus, a Tarentine, with him, who had two beautiful boys to sell, and desired to know whether he chose to buy them. Alexander was so much incensed at this application, that he asked his friends several times what base inclinations Philoxenus had ever seen in him that he durst make him so infamous a proposal. In his answer to the letter, which was extremely severe upon Philoxenus, he ordered him to dismiss Theodorus and his vile merchandise together. He likewise reprimanded young Agnon, for offering to purchase Crobylus for him, whose beauty was famous in Corinth. Being informed that two Macedonians, named Damon and Timotheus, had corrupted the wives of some of his mercenaries, who served under Parmenio, he ordered that officer to inquire into the affair, and if they were found guilty to put them to death, as no better than savages bent on the destruction of human kind. In the same letter, speaking of his own conduct, he expresses himself in these terms: "For my part, I have neither seen, nor desire to see, the wife of Darius; so far from that, I have not suffered any man to speak of her beauty before me." He used to say that sleep and the commerce with the sex were the things that made him most sensible of his mortality. For he considered both weariness and pleasure as the natural effects of our weakness.

He was also very temperate in eating. Of this there are many proofs; and we have a remarkable one in what he said to Ada, whom he called his mother, and had made queen of Caria.* Ada, to express her affectionate regards, sent him

* Son to a king of Persia's daughter.

† This princess, after the death of her eldest brother Mausolus, and his consort Artemisia, who died without children, succeeded to the throne with her brother Hidreus, to whom she had been married. Hidreus dying before her, Pexodorus, her third brother, dethroned her, and after his death his son-in-law Orontes seized the crown. But Alexander restored her to the possession of her dominions.

every day a number of excellent dishes and a handsome dessert ; and at last she sent him some of her best cooks and bakers. But he said he had no need of them ; for he had been supplied with better cooks by his tutor Leonidas—a march before day to dress his dinner, and a light dinner to prepare his supper. He added, that the same Leonidas used to examine the chests and wardrobes in which his bedding and clothes were put, lest something of luxury and superfluity should be introduced there by his mother.

Nor was he so much addicted to wine as he was thought to be. It was supposed so, because he passed a great deal of time at table ; but that time was spent rather in talking than drinking ; every cup introducing some long discourse. Besides, he never made these long meals but when he had abundance of leisure upon his hands. When business called, he was not to be detained by wine, or sleep, or pleasure, or honourable love, or the most entertaining spectacle, though the motions of other generals have been retarded by some of these things. His life sufficiently confirms this assertion ; for, though very short, he performed in it innumerable great actions.

On his days of leisure, as soon as he was risen he sacrificed to the gods ; after which he took his dinner sitting. The rest of the day he spent in hunting, or deciding the differences among his troops, or in reading and writing. If he was upon a march which did not require haste, he would exercise himself in shooting and darting the javelin, or in mounting and alighting from a chariot at full speed. Sometimes he diverted himself with fowling and fox-hunting, as we find by his journals.

On his return to his quarters, when he went to be refreshed with his bath and with oil, he inquired of the stewards of his kitchen, whether they had prepared everything in a handsome manner for supper. It was not till late in the evening, and when night was come on, that he took this meal, and then he ate in a recumbent posture. He was very attentive to his guests at table, that they might be served equally, and none neglected. His entertainments, as we have already observed, lasted many hours ; but they were lengthened out rather by conversation than drinking. His conversation, in many respects, was more agreeable than that of most princes, for he was not deficient in the graces of society. His only fault was his retaining so much of the soldier * as to indulge a troublesome vanity. He would not only boast of his own

* The ancients, in their comic pieces, used always to put the rodomontades in the character of a soldier.

actions, but suffered himself to be cajoled by flatterers to an amazing degree. Those wretches were an intolerable burden to the rest of the company, who did not choose to contend with them in adulation, or yet to appear behind them in their opinion of their king's achievements.

As to delicacies, he had so little regard for them, that when the choicest fruit and fish were brought him from distant countries and seas, he would send some to each of his friends, and he very often left none for himself. Yet there was always a magnificence at his table, and the expense rose with his fortune, till it came to 10,000 *drachmas* for one entertainment. There it stood : and he did not suffer those that invited him to exceed that sum.

After the battle of Issus he sent to Damascus, and seized the money and equipages of the Persians, together with their wives and children. On that occasion the Thessalian cavalry enriched themselves most. They had, indeed, greatly distinguished themselves in the action, and they were favoured with this commission, that they might have the best share in the spoil. Not but the rest of the army found sufficient booty ; and the Macedonians having once tasted the treasures and the luxury of the barbarians, hunted for the Persian wealth with all the ardour of hounds upon scent.

It appeared to Alexander a matter of great importance, before he went farther, to gain the maritime powers. Upon application, the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia made their submission ; only Tyre held out. He besieged that city seven months, during which time he erected vast mounts of earth, plied it with his engines, and invested it on the side next the sea with 200 galleys. He had a dream in which he saw Hercules offering him his hand from the wall, and inviting him to enter. And many of the Tyrians dreamed* that Apollo declared he would go over to Alexander, because he was displeased with their behaviour in the town. Hereupon, the Tyrians, as if the god had been a deserter taken in the fact, loaded his statue with chains and nailed the feet to the pedestal ; not scrupling to call him an *Alexandrist*. In

* One of the Tyrians dreamed he saw Apollo flying from the city. Upon his reporting this to the people, they would have stoned him, supposing that he did it to intimidate them. He was obliged, therefore, to take refuge in the temple of Hercules. But the magistrates, upon mature deliberation, resolved to fix one end of a gold chain to the statue of Apollo, and the other to the altar of Hercules.—DIODOR. SIC. lb. xvii.

another dream Alexander thought he saw a satyr playing before him at some distance; and when he advanced to take him the savage eluded his grasp. However, at last, after much coaxing and taking many circuits round him, he prevailed with him to surrender himself. The interpreters, plausibly enough, divided the Greek term for *satyr* into two, *Sa Tyros*, which signifies *Tyre is thine*. They still show us a fountain, near which Alexander is said to have seen that vision.

About the middle of the siege he made an excursion against the Arabians, who dwelt about Antilibanus. There he ran a great risk of his life, on account of his preceptor Lysimachus, who insisted on attending him; being, as he alleged, neither older nor less valiant than Phoenix. But when they came to the hills, and quitted their horses, to march up on foot, the rest of the party got far before Alexander and Lysimachus. Night came on, and, as the enemy was at no great distance, the king would not leave his preceptor borne down with fatigue and the weight of years. Therefore, while he was encouraging and helping him forward, he was insensibly separated from his troops, and had a dark and very cold night to pass in an exposed and dismal situation. In this perplexity, he observed at a distance a number of scattered fires which the enemy had lighted; and depending upon his swiftness and activity, as well as accustomed to extricate the Macedonians out of every difficulty, by taking a share in the labour and danger, he ran to the next fire. After having killed two of the barbarians that sat watching it, he seized a lighted brand, and hastened with it to his party, who soon kindled a great fire. The sight of this so intimidated the enemy that many of them fled, and those who ventured to attack him were repulsed with considerable loss. By these means he passed the night in safety, according to the account we have from Chares.

As for the siege, it was brought to a termination in this manner. Alexander had permitted his main body to repose themselves, after the long and severe fatigues they had undergone, and ordered only some small parties to keep the Tyrians in play. In the meantime Aristander, his principal soothsayer, offered sacrifices, and one day, upon inspecting the entrails of the victim, he boldly asserted among those about him, that the city would certainly be taken that month. As it happened then to be the last day of the month, his assertion was received with ridicule and scorn. The king perceiving he was disconcerted, and making it a point to bring the prophecies of his ministers to completion, give orders that the day should not be called

the thirtieth, but the twenty-eighth of the month. At the same time he called out his force by sound of trumpet, and made a much more vigorous assault than he at first intended. The attack was violent, and those who were left behind in the camp quitted it to have a share in it, and to support their fellow-soldiers ; insomuch that the Tyrians were forced to give out, and the city was taken that very day.

From thence he marched into Syria, and laid siege to Gaza, the capital of that country. While he was employed there, a bird, as it flew by, let fall a clod of earth upon his shoulder, and then going to perch on the cross cords with which they turned the engines, was entangled and taken. The event answered Aristander's interpretation of this sign : Alexander was wounded in the shoulder, but he took the city. He sent most of its spoils to Olympias and Cleopatra, and others of his friends. His tutor Leonidas was not forgotten ; and the present he made him had something particular in it. It consisted of 500 talents' weight of frankincense,* and 100 of myrrh, and was sent upon recollection of the hopes he had conceived when a boy. It seems Leonidas one day had observed Alexander at a sacrifice, throwing incense into the fire by handfuls ; upon which he said, "Alexander, when you have conquered the country where spices grow, you may be thus liberal of your incense ; but, in the meantime, use what you have more sparingly." He therefore wrote thus : "I have sent you frankincense and myrrh in abundance, that you may be no longer a churl to the gods."

A casket being one day brought him, which appeared one of the most curious and valuable things among the treasures and the whole equipage of Darius, he asked his friends what they thought most worthy to be put in it. Different things were to be proposed, but he said the *Iliad* most deserved such a case. This particular is mentioned by several writers of credit. And if what the Alexandrians say, upon the faith of Heraclides, be true, Homer was no bad auxiliary, or useless counsellor, in the course of the war. They tell us, that when Alexander had conquered Egypt, and determined to build there a great city, which was to be peopled with Greeks, and called after his own name, by the advice of his architects he had marked out a piece of ground, and was preparing to lay the foundation ; but a wonderful dream made him fix upon another situation. He

* The common Attic talent in Troy weight was 56 lb. 11 oz. 17 gr. This talent consisted of 60 minæ ; but there was another Attic talent, by some said to consist of 80, by others of 100 minæ. The mina was 11 oz. 7 dwt. 16 gr. The talent of Alexandria was 104 lb. 19 dwt. 14 gr.

thought a person with grey hair, and a very venerable aspect, approached him, and repeated the following lines :

“ High o’er a gulfy sea the Pharian isle
Fronts the deep roar of disenboguing Nile.”

—POPE.

Alexander, upon this, immediately left his bed, and went to Pharos, which at that time was an island lying a little above the *Canobic* mouth of the Nile, but now is joined to the continent by a causeway. He no sooner cast his eyes upon the place, than he perceived the commodiousness of the situation. It is a tongue of land, not unlike an *isthmus*, whose breadth is proportionable to its length. On one side it has a great lake, and on the other the sea, which there forms a capacious harbour. This led him to declare that Homer, among his other admirable qualifications, was an excellent architect, and he ordered a city to be planned suitable to the ground, and its appendant conveniences. For want of chalk, they made use of flour, which answered well enough upon a black soil, and they drew a line with it about the semicircular bay. The arms of this semicircle were terminated by straight lines, so that the whole was in the form of a Macedonian cloak.

While the king was enjoying the design, on a sudden an infinite number of large birds of various kinds rose, like a black cloud, out of the river and the lake, and, lighting upon the place, ate up all the flour that was used in marking out the lines. Alexander was disturbed at the omen ; but the diviners encouraged him to proceed, by assuring him it was a sign that the city he was going to build would be blessed with such plenty as to furnish a supply to those that should repair to it from other nations.

The execution of the plan he left to his architects, and went to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon. It was a long and laborious journey ;* and besides the fatigue, there were two

* As to his motives in this journey, historians disagree. Arrian (l. iii. c. 3) tells us he took it in imitation of Perseus and Hercules, the former of which had consulted that oracle, when he was despatched against the Gorgons ; and the latter twice—viz., when he went into Libya against Anteus, and when he marched into Egypt against Busiris. Now, as Perseus and Hercules gave themselves out to be the sons of the Grecian Jupiter, so Alexander had a mind to take Jupiter Ammon for his father. Maximus Tyrius (Serm. xxv.) informs us that he went to discover the fountains of the Nile ; and Justin. (l. xi. c. 11) says the intention of this visit was to clear up his mother’s character, and to get himself the reputation of a divine origin.

great dangers attending it. The one was, that their water might fail, in a desert of many days' journey which afforded no supply; and the other, that they might be surprised by a violent south wind amidst the wastes of sand, as it happened long before to the army of Cambyzes. The wind raised the sand, and rolled it in such waves, that it devoured full 50,000 men. These difficulties were considered and represented to Alexander; but it was not easy to divert him from any of his purposes. Fortune had supported him in such a manner, that his resolutions were become invincibly strong; and his courage inspired him with such a spirit of adventure, that he thought it not enough to be victorious in the field, but he must conquer both time and place.

The divine assistances which Alexander experienced in his march met with more credit than the oracles delivered at the end of it; though those extraordinary assistances, in some measure, confirmed the oracles. In the first place, Jupiter sent such a copious and constant rain, as not only delivered them from all fear of suffering by thirst, but, by moistening the sand, and making it firm to the foot, made the air clear, and fit for respiration. In the next place, when they found the marks which were to serve for guides to travellers removed or defaced, and in consequence wandered up and down without any certain route, a flock of crows made their appearance, and directed them in the way. When they marched briskly on, the crows flew with equal alacrity; when they lagged behind, or halted, the crows also stopped. What is still stranger, Callisthenes avers, that at night, when they happened to be gone wrong, these birds called them by their croaking, and put them right again.

When he had passed the desert, and was arrived at the place, the minister of Ammon received him with salutations from the god, as from a father. And when he inquired whether any of the assassins of his father had escaped him, the priest desired he would not express himself in that manner, for his father was not a mortal. Then he asked whether all the murderers of Philip were punished; and whether it was given the proponent to be the conqueror of the world. Jupiter answered, that he granted him that high distinction; and that the death of Philip was sufficiently avenged. Upon this Alexander made his acknowledgment to the god by rich offerings, and loaded the priests with presents of great value. This is the account most historians give us of the affair of the oracle; but Alexander himself, in the letter he wrote to his mother on that occasion,

only says he received certain private answers from the oracle, which he would communicate to her, and her only, at his return.

Some say Ammon's prophet being desirous to address him in an obliging manner in Greek, intended to say, *O Paidion*, which signifies, *My Son*; but in his barbarous pronunciation, made the word end with an *s*, instead of an *n*, and so said, *O pai dios*, which signifies, *O Son of Jupiter*. Alexander (they add) was delighted with the mistake in the pronunciation, and from that mistake was propagated a report that Jupiter himself had called him his son.

He went to hear Psammo, an Egyptian philosopher, and the saying of his that pleased him most was, that "All men are governed by God, for in everything that which rules and governs is divine." But Alexander's own maxim was more agreeable to sound philosophy: he said, "God is the common father of men, but more particularly of those who are good and virtuous."

When among the barbarians, indeed, he affected a lofty port, such as might suit a man perfectly convinced of his divine original; but it was in a small degree, and with great caution, that he assumed anything of divinity among the Greeks. We must except, however, what he wrote to the Athenians concerning Samos. "It was not I who gave you that free and famous city, but your then Lord, who was called my father," meaning Philip.*

Yet long after this, when he was wounded with an arrow, and experienced great torture from it, he said, "My friends, this is blood, and not the ichor—

‘Which blest immortals shed.’”

One day it happened to thunder in such a dreadful manner that it astonished all that heard it; upon which, Anaxarchus the sophist, being in company with him, said, "Son of Jupiter, could you do so?" Alexander answered, with a smile, "I do not choose to be so terrible to my friends as you would have me, who despise my entertainments, because you see fish served up, and not the heads of Persian grandees." It seems the king had made Hephaestion a present of some small fish, and Anaxarchus observing it, said, "Why did he not rather send

* He knew the Athenians were sunk into such meanness, that they would readily admit his pretensions to divinity. So afterwards they deified Demetrius.

you the heads of princes ;”* intimating how truly despicable those glittering things are which conquerors pursue with so much danger and fatigue ; since after all, their enjoyments are little or nothing superior to those of other men. It appears, then, from what has been said, that Alexander neither believed, nor was elated with the notion of his divinity, but that he only made use of it as a means to bring others into subjection.

At this return from Egypt to Phœnicia, he honoured the gods with sacrifices and solemn processions ; on which occasion the people were entertained with music and dancing, and tragedies were presented in the greatest perfection, not only in respect of the magnificence of the scenery, but the spirit of emulation in those who exhibited them. In Athens persons are chosen by lot out of the tribes to conduct those exhibitions ; but in this case the princes of Cyprus vied with each other with incredible ardour ; particularly Nicocreon king of Salamis, and Pasicles king of Soli. They chose the most celebrated actors that could be found ; Pasicles risked the victory upon Athenodorus, and Nicocreon upon Thessalus. Alexander interested himself particularly in behalf of the latter ; but did not discover his attachment, till Athenodorus was declared victor by all the suffrages. Then, as he left the theatre, he said, “ I commend the judges for what they have done ; but I would have given half my kingdom rather than have seen Thessalus conquered.”

However, when Athenodorus was fined by the Athenians for not making his appearance on their stage at the feasts of Bacchus, and entreated Alexander to write to them in his favour ; though he refused to comply with that request, he paid his fine for him. Another actor, named Lycon, a native of Scarpbia, performing with great applause before Alexander, dexterously inserted in one of the speeches of the comedy a verse in which he asked him for ten talents. Alexander laughed, and gave him them.

It was about this time that he received a letter from Darius, in which that prince proposed, on condition of a pacification and future friendship, to pay him 10,000 talents in ransom of the

* Diogenes imputes this saying of Anaxarchus to the aversion he had for Nicocreon, tyrant of Salamis. According to him, Alexander having one day invited Anaxarchus to dinner, asked him how he liked his entertainment. “ It is excellent,” replied the guest, “ it wants but one dish, and that a delicious one, the head of a tyrant.” Not the heads of the *Satrapæ*, or governors of provinces, as it is in Plutarch. If the philosopher really meant the head of Nicocreon, he paid dear for his saying afterwards ; for after the death of Alexander, he was forced, by contrary winds, upon the coast of Cyprus, where the tyrant seized him, and put him to death.

prisoners, to cede to him all the countries on this side the Euphrates, and to give him his daughter in marriage. Upon his communicating these proposals to his friends, Parmenio said, "If I were Alexander, I would accept them." "So would I," said Alexander,* "if I were Parmenio." The answer he gave Darius was, that if he would come to him, he should find the best of treatment; if not, he must go and seek him.

In consequence of this declaration he began his march; but he repented that he had set out so soon, when he received information that the wife of Darius was dead. That princess died in child-bed; and the concern of Alexander was great, because he lost an opportunity of exercising his clemency. All he could do was to return and bury her with the utmost magnificence. One of the eunuchs of the bed-chamber, named Tiresus, who was taken prisoner along with the princesses, at this time made his escape out of the camp, and rode off to Darius, with news of the queen's death.

Darius smote upon his head, and shed a torrent of tears. After which he cried out, "Ah cruel destiny of the Persians! Was the wife and sister of their king, not only to be taken captive, but after her death to be deprived of the obsequies due to her high rank!" The eunuch answered, "As to her obsequies, O King, and all the honours the queen had a right to claim, there is no reason to blame the evil genius of the Persians. For neither my mistress, Statira, during her life, or your royal mother, or children, missed any of the advantages of their former fortune, except the beholding the light of your countenance, which the great Oromasdes† will again cause to shine with as much lustre as before. So far from being deprived of any of the solemnities of a funeral, the queen was honoured with the tears of her very enemies. For Alexander is as mild in the use of his victories as he is terrible in battle."

On hearing this, Darius was greatly moved, and strange suspicions took possession of his soul. He took the eunuch into the most private apartment of his pavilion, and said, "If thou dost not revolt to the Macedonians, as the fortune of Persia has done, but still acknowledgest in me thy lord; tell

* Longinus takes notice of this as an instance, that it is natural for men of genius, even in their common discourse, to let fall something great and sublime.

† *Oromasdes* was worshipped by the Persians as the Author of all Good; and *Arimanius* deemed the Author of Evil; agreeably to the principles from which they were believed to spring, Light and Darkness. The Persian writers call them *Yerdan* and *Abriman*.

me, as thou honourest the light of Mithra and the right hand of the king, is not the death of Statira the least of her misfortunes I have to lament? Did not she suffer more dreadful things while she lived? And, amidst all our calamities, would not our disgrace have been less, had we met with a more rigorous and savage enemy? For what engagement in the compass of virtue could bring a young man to do such honour to the wife of his enemy?"

While the king was yet speaking, Tiresus humbled his face to the earth, and entreated him not to make use of expressions so unworthy of himself, so injurious to Alexander, and so dishonourable to the memory of his deceased wife and sister; nor to deprive himself of the greatest of consolations in his misfortune, the reflecting that he was not defeated but by a person superior to human nature. He assured him Alexander was more to be admired for the decency of his behaviour to the Persian women, than for the valour he exerted against the men. At the same time, he confirmed all he had said with the most awful oaths, and expatiated still more on the regularity of Alexander's conduct, and on his dignity of mind.

Then Darius returned to his friends; and lifting up his hands to heaven, he said, "Ye gods, who are the guardians of our birth, and the protectors of kingdoms, grant that I may re-establish the fortunes of Persia, and leave them in the glory I found them; that victory may put it in my power to return Alexander the favours, which my dearest pledges experienced from him in my fall! but if the time determined by fate and the divine wrath, or brought by the vicissitude of things, is now come, and the glory of the Persians must fall, may none but Alexander sit on the throne of Cyrus!" In this manner were things conducted, and such were the speeches uttered on this occasion, according to the tenor of history.

Alexander having subdued all on this side the Euphrates, began his march against Darius, who had taken the field with 1,000,000 men. During this march one of his friends mentioned to him, as a matter that might divert him, that the servants of the army had divided themselves into two bands, and that each had chosen a chief, one of which they called Alexander, and the other Darius. They began to skirmish with clods, and afterwards fought with their fists; and, at last, heated with a desire of victory, many of them came to stones and sticks, insomuch that they could hardly be parted. The king, upon this report, ordered the two chiefs to fight in single combat, and armed Alexander with his own hands, while Philotas did the

same for Darius. The whole army stood and looked on, considering the event of this combat as a presage of the issue of the war. The two champions fought with great fury; but he who bore the name of Alexander proved victorious. He was rewarded with a present of twelve villages, and allowed to wear a Persian robe, as Eratosthenes tells the story.

The great battle with Darius was not fought at Arbela,* as most historians will have it; but at Gaugamela, which, in the Persian tongue, is said to signify *the house of the camel*;† so called, because one of the ancient kings having escaped his enemies by the swiftness of his camel, placed her there, and appointed the revenue of certain villages for her maintenance.

In the month of *September* there happened an eclipse of the moon,‡ about the beginning of the festival of the great mysteries at Athens. The eleventh night after that eclipse, the two armies being in view of each other, Darius kept his men under arms, and took a general review of his troops by torch-light. Meantime Alexander suffered his Macedonians to repose themselves, and with his soothsayer Aristander performed some private ceremonies before his tent, and offered sacrifices to FEAR.§ The oldest of his friends, and Parmenio in particular, when they beheld the plain between Niphates and the Gordæan Mountains, all illumined with the torches of the barbarians, and heard the tumultuary and appalling noise from their camp, like the bellowings of an immense sea, were astonished at their numbers, and observed among themselves how arduous an enterprise it would be to meet such a torrent of war in open day. They waited upon the king, therefore, when he had finished the sacrifice, and advised him to attack the enemy in the night, when darkness would hide what was most dreadful in the combat. Upon which he gave them that celebrated answer, "I will not steal a victory."

It is true, this answer has been thought by some to savour of

* But as Gaugamela was only a village, and Arbela, a considerable town, stood near it, the Macedonians chose to distinguish the battle by the name of the latter.

† Darius, the son of Hystaspes, crossed the deserts of Scythia upon that camel.

‡ Astronomers assure us this eclipse of the moon happened the 20th of September, according to the Julian calendar; and therefore the battle of Arbela was fought the 1st of October.

§ FEAR was not without her altars; Theseus sacrificed to her, and the Lacedæmonians built a temple to FEAR, whom they honoured, not as a pernicious demon, but as the bond of all good government.

the vanity of a young man, who derided the most obvious danger ; yet others have thought it not only well calculated to encourage his troops at that time, but politic enough in respect to the future ; because, if Darius happened to be beaten, it left him no handle to proceed to another trial, under pretence that night and darkness had been his adversaries, as he had before laid the blame upon the mountains, the narrow passes, and the sea. For in such a vast empire it could never be the want of arms or men that would bring Darius to give up the dispute ; but the ruin of his hopes and spirits, in consequence of the loss of a battle, where he had the advantage of numbers and of daylight.

When his friends were gone, Alexander retired to rest in his tent, and he is said to have slept that night much sounder than usual ; insomuch, that when his officers came to attend him the next day, they could not but express their surprise at it, while they were obliged themselves to give out orders to the troops to take their morning refreshment. After this, as the occasion was urgent, Parmenio entered his apartment, and standing by his bed, called him two or three times by name. When he awaked, that officer asked him why he slept like a man that had already conquered, and not rather like one who had the greatest battle the world ever heard of to fight. Alexander smiled at the question, and said, " In what light can you look upon us but as conquerors, when we have not now to traverse desolate countries in pursuit of Darius, and he no longer declines the combat ? " It was not, however, only before the battle, but in the face of danger, that Alexander showed his intrepidity and excellent judgment. For the battle was some time doubtful. The left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was almost broken by the impetuosity with which the Bactrian cavalry charged ; and Mazæus had, moreover, detached a party of horse, with orders to wheel round and attack the corps that was left to guard the Macedonian baggage. Parmenio, greatly disturbed at these circumstances, sent messengers to acquaint Alexander that his camp and baggage would be taken if he did not immediately despatch a strong reinforcement from the front to the rear : the moment that account was brought him, he was giving his right wing, which he commanded in person, the signal to charge. He stopped, however, to tell the messenger, " Parmenio must have lost his senses, and in his disorder must have forgot that the conquerors are always masters of all that belonged to the enemy ; and the conquered need not give themselves any concern about their treasures or prisoners, nor have anything to

think of but how to sell their lives dear, and die in the bed of honour."

As soon as he had returned Parmenio this answer, he put on his helmet ; for in other points he came ready armed out of his tent. He had a short coat of the Sicilian fashion, girt close about him, and over that a breastplate of linen strongly quilted, which was found among the spoils at the battle of Issus. His helmet, the workmanship of Theophilus, was of iron, but so well polished, that it shone like the brightest silver. To this was fitted a gorget of the same metal, set with precious stones. His sword, the weapon he generally used in battle, was a present from the king of the Citieans, and could not be excelled for lightness or for temper. But the belt, which he wore in all engagements, was more superb than the rest of his armour. It was given him by the Rhodians as a mark of their respect, and old Helicon had exerted all his art in it. In drawing up his army and giving orders, as well as exercising and reviewing it, he spared Bucephalus on account of his age, and rode another horse ; but he constantly charged upon him ; and he had no sooner mounted him than the signal was always given.

The speech he made to the Thessalians and the other Greeks was of some length on this occasion. When he found that they, in their turn, strove to add to his confidence, and called out to him to lead them against the barbarians, he shifted his javelin to his left hand ; and stretching his right hand towards heaven, according to Callisthenes, he entreated the gods to defend and invigorate the Greeks if he was really the son of Jupiter.

Aristander the soothsayer, who rode by his side in a white robe, and with a crown of gold upon his head, then pointed out an eagle flying over him, and directing his course against the enemy. The sight of this so animated the troops, that after mutual exhortations to bravery, the cavalry charged at full speed, and the phalanx rushed on like a torrent.* Before the

* Plutarch, as a writer of lives, not of histories, does not pretend to give an exact description of battles. But as many of our readers, we believe, will be glad to see some of the more remarkable in detail, we shall give Arrian's account of this.

Alexander's right wing charged first upon the Scythian horse, who, as they were well armed and very robust, behaved at the beginning very well, and made a vigorous resistance. That this might answer more effectually, the chariots placed in the left wing bore down at the same time upon the Macedonians. Their appearance was very terrible, and threatened entire destruction ; but Alexander's light-armed troops, by their darts, arrows, and stones, killed many of the drivers, and more of the horses, so that few

first ranks were well engaged the barbarians gave way, and Alexander pressed hard upon the fugitives, in order to penetrate into the midst of the host, where Darius acted in person ; for he beheld him at a distance, over the foremost ranks, amidst his royal squadron. Besides that he was mounted upon a lofty chariot, Darius was easily distinguished by his size and beauty. A numerous body of select cavalry stood in close order about the chariot, and seemed well prepared to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach appeared so terrible, as he drove the fugitives upon those who still maintained their ground, that they were seized with consternation, and the greatest part of them dispersed. A few of the best and bravest of them, indeed, met their death before the king's chariot, and falling in heaps one upon another, strove to stop the pursuit ; for in the very pangs of death they clung to the Macedonians, and caught hold of their horses' legs as they lay upon the ground.

Darius had now the most dreadful dangers before his eyes. His own forces, that were placed in the front to defend him, were driven back upon him ; the wheels of his chariot were, moreover, entangled among the dead bodies, so that it was almost impossible to turn it ; and the horses plunging among heaps of the slain, bounded up and down, and no longer obeyed

reached the Macedonian line, which opening, as Alexander had directed, they only passed through, and were then either taken, or disabled by his bodies of reserve. The horse continued still engaged ; and, before anything decisive happened there, the Persian foot, near their left wing, began to move, in hopes of falling upon the flank of the Macedonian right wing, or of penetrating so far as to divide it from its centre. Alexander, perceiving this, sent Aratus with a corps, to charge them, and to prevent their intended manœuvre. In the meantime, prosecuting his first design, he broke their cavalry in the left wing, and entirely routed it. He then charged the Persian foot in flank, and they made but a feeble resistance. Darius, perceiving this, gave up all for lost, and fled.—*Vide* ARRIAN, l. iii. c. 13, and *seq. ubi plura*.

Diodorus ascribes the success, which for a time attended the Persian troops, entirely to the conduct and valour of Darius. It unfortunately happened that Alexander, attacking his guards, threw a dart at Darius, which, though it missed him, struck the charioteer, who sat at his feet, dead ; and as he fell forwards, some of the guards raised a loud cry, whence those behind them conjectured that the king was slain, and thereupon fled. This obliged Darius to follow their example, who, knowing the route he took could not be discovered on account of the dust and confusion, wheeled about, and got behind the Persian army, and continued his flight that way, while Alexander pursued right forwards.—DIOD. SIC. l. xvii.

Justin tells us, that when those about Darius advised him to break down the bridge of the Cydnus, to retard the enemy's pursuit, he answered, "I will never purchase safety to myself at the expense of so many thousands of my subjects as must by this means be lost."—JUST. l. xi. c. 14.

the hands of the charioteer. In this extremity he quitted the chariot and his arms, and fled, as they tell us, upon a mare which had newly foaled. But, in all probability, he had not escaped so if Parmenio had not again sent some horsemen to desire Alexander to come to his assistance, because great part of the enemy's forces still stood their ground, and kept a good countenance. Upon the whole Parmenio is accused of want of spirit and activity in that battle; whether it was that age had damped his courage; or whether, as Callisthenes tells us, he looked upon Alexander's power and the pompous behaviour he assumed with an invidious eye, and considered it as an insupportable burden.* Alexander, though vexed at being so stopped in his career, did not acquaint the troops about him with the purport of the message, but under pretence of being weary of such a carnage, and of its growing dark, sounded a retreat. However, as he was riding up to that part of his army which had been represented in danger, he was informed that the enemy were totally defeated and put to flight.

The battle having such an issue, the Persian empire appeared to be entirely destroyed, and Alexander was acknowledged king of all Asia. The first thing he did was to make his acknowledgments to the gods by magnificent sacrifices; and then to his friends, by rich gifts of houses, estates, and governments. As he was particularly ambitious of recommending himself to the Greeks, he signified by letter that all tyrannies should be abolished, and that they should be governed by their own laws, under the auspices of freedom. To the Plateæans, in particular, he wrote that their city should be rebuilt, because their ancestors had made a present of their territory to the Greeks, in order that they might fight the cause of liberty upon their own lands. He sent also a part of the spoils to the Cretonians in Italy, in honour of the spirit and courage of their countryman Phaylus, a champion of the wrestling-ring, who in the war with the Medes, when the rest of the Greeks in Italy sent no assistance to the Greeks their brethren, fitted out a ship at his own expense, and repaired to Salamis, to take a share in the common danger. Such a pleasure did Alexander take in every

* The truth seems to be, that Parmenio had too much concern for Alexander. Philip of Macedon confessed Parmenio to be the only general he knew: and on this occasion he probably considered, that if the wing under his command had been beaten, that corps of Persians would have been able to keep the field, and the fugitives rallying, and joining it there, would have been a respectable force which might have regained the day.

instance of virtue, and so faithful a guardian was he of the honour of all great actions !

He traversed all the province of Babylon, which immediately made its submission ; and in the district of Ecbatana he was particularly struck with a gulf of fire, which streamed continually, as from an inexhaustible source. He admired also a flood of *naphtha*, not far from the gulf, which flowed in such abundance that it formed a lake. The *naphtha* in many respects resembles the *bitumen*, but it is much more inflammable. Before any fire touches it, it catches light from a flame at some distance, and often kindles all the intermediate air. The barbarians, to show the king its force and the subtilty of its nature, scattered some drops of it in the street which led to his lodgings ; and standing at one end, they applied their torches to some of the first drops ; for it was night. The flame communicated itself swifter than thought, and the street was instantaneously all on fire.

There was one Athenophanes, an Athenian, who, among others, waited on Alexander when he bathed, and anointed him with oil. This man had the greatest success in his attempts to divert him : and one day a boy, named Stephen, happening to attend at the bath, who was homely in his person, but an excellent singer, Athenophanes said to the king, " Shall we make an experiment of the *naphtha* upon Stephen ? If it takes fire upon him, and does not presently die out, we must allow its force to be extraordinary indeed." The boy readily consented to undergo the trial ; but as soon as he was anointed with it, his whole body broke out into a flame, and Alexander was extremely concerned at his danger. Nothing could have prevented his being entirely consumed by it, if there had not been people at hand with many vessels of water for the service of the bath. As it was, they found it difficult to extinguish the fire, and the poor boy felt the bad effects of it as long as he lived.

Those, therefore, who desire to reconcile the fable with truth, are not unsupported by probability, when they say, it was this drug with which Medea anointed the crown and veil so well known upon the stage. For the flame did not come from the crown or veil, nor did they take fire of themselves ; but upon the approach of fire they soon attracted it, and kindled imperceptibly. The emanations of fire at some distance have no other effect upon most bodies, than merely to give them light and heat ; but in those which are dry and porous, or saturated with oily particles, they collect themselves into a point, and immediately prey upon the matter so well fitted to receive them.

Still there remains a difficulty as to the generation of this *naphtha*; whether it derives its inflammable quality from . . .*, or rather from the unctuous and sulphureous nature of the soil. For in the province of Babylon the ground is of so fiery a quality that the grains of barley often leap up and are thrown out, as if the violent heat gave a pulsation to the earth. And in the hot months the people are obliged to sleep upon skins filled with water. Harpalus, whom Alexander left governor of the country, was ambitious to adorn the royal palaces and walks with Grecian trees and plants; and he succeeded in everything except ivy. After all his attempts to propagate that plant, it died; for it loves a cold soil, and therefore it could not bear the temper of that mould. Such digressions as these the nicest readers may endure, provided they are not too long.

Alexander having made himself master of Susa, found in the king's palace 40,000 talents in coined money, and the royal furniture and other riches were of inexpressible value. Among other things, there was purple of Hermione, worth 5000 talents,† which, though it had been laid up 190 years, retained its first freshness and beauty. The reason they assign for this is, that the purple wool was combed with honey, and the white with white oil. And we are assured, that specimens of the same kind and age are still to be seen in all their pristine lustre. Dinon informs us, that the kings of Persia used to have water fetched from the Nile and the Danube, and put among their treasures, as a proof of the extent of their dominions, and their being masters of the world.

The entrance into Persia was difficult, on account of the roughness of the country in that part, and because the passes were guarded by the bravest of the Persians; for Darius had taken refuge there. But a man who spoke both Greek and Persian, having a Lycian to his father, and a Persian woman to his mother, offered himself as a guide to Alexander, and showed him how he might enter by taking a circuit. This was the person the priestess of Apollo had in view, when, upon Alexander's consulting her at a very early period of life, she foretold that a Lycian should conduct him into Persia. Those that first fell into his hands there were slaughtered in vast numbers. He tells us, he ordered that no quarter should be given, because he thought such an example would be of service to his affairs. It

* Something here is wanting in the original.

† Or 5000 talents' weight. Pliny tells us, that a pound of the double-tipped Tyrian purple, in the time of Augustus, was sold for a hundred crowns.

is said, he found as much gold and silver coin there as he did at Susa, and that there was such a quantity of other treasures and rich movables that it loaded 10,000 pair of mules and 5000 camels.

At Persepolis he cast his eyes upon a great statue of Xerxes, which had been thrown from its pedestal by the crowd that suddenly rushed in, and lay neglected on the ground. Upon this he stopped, and addressed it as if it had been alive—"Shall we leave you," said he, "in this condition, on account of the war you made upon Greece, or rear you again, for the sake of your magnanimity and other virtues?" After he had stood a long time considering in silence which he should do, he passed by and left it as it was. To give his troops time to refresh themselves, he stayed there four months, for it was winter.

The first time he sat down on the throne of the kings of Persia, under a golden canopy, Demaratus the Corinthian, who had the same friendship and affection for Alexander as he had entertained for his father Philip, is said to have wept like an old man while he uttered this exclamation, "What a pleasure have those Greeks missed, who died without seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Darius!"

When he was upon the point of marching against Darius, he made a great entertainment for his friends, at which they drank to a degree of intoxication; and the women had their share in it, for they came in masquerade to seek their lovers. The most celebrated among these women was Thais, a native of Attica, and mistress to Ptolemy, afterwards king of Egypt. When she had gained Alexander's attention by her flattery and humorous vein, she addressed him over her cups in a manner agreeable to the spirit of her country, but far above a person of her stamp. "I have undergone great fatigues," said she, "in wandering about Asia; but this day has brought me a compensation, by putting it in my power to insult the proud courts of the Persian kings. Ah! how much greater pleasure would it be to finish the carousal with burning the palaces of Xerxes, who laid Athens in ashes, and set fire to it myself in the sight of Alexander!" Then shall it be said in times to come, that the women of his train have more signally avenged the cause of

* These domes were not reared solely for regal magnificence and security; but to aid the appetites of power and luxury, and to secrete the royal pleasures from those that toiled to gratify them. Thus, as this noble structure was possibly raised not only for vanity but for riot; so, probably, by vanity inflamed by riot, it fell. A striking instance of the insignificance of human labours, and the depravity of human nature.

Greece upon the Persians, than all that the generals before him could do by sea or land."

This speech was received with the loudest plaudits and most tumultuary acclamations. All the company strove to persuade the king to comply with the proposal. At last, yielding to their instances, he leaped from his seat, and, with his garland on his head, and a flambeau in his hand, led the way. The rest followed with shouts of joy, and dancing as they went, spread themselves round the palace. The Macedonians, who got intelligence of this frolic, ran up with lighted torches, and joined them with great pleasure. For they concluded, from his destroying the royal palace, that the king's thoughts were turned towards home, and that he did not design to fix his seat among the barbarians. Such is the account most writers give us of the motives of this transaction. There are not, however, wanting those who assert that it was in consequence of cool reflection. But all agree that the king soon repented, and ordered the fire to be extinguished.

As he was naturally munificent, that inclination increased with his extraordinary acquisitions; and he had also a gracious manner, which is the only thing that gives bounty an irresistible charm. To give a few instances: Ariston, who commanded the Pæonians, having killed one of the enemy, and cut off his head, laid it at Alexander's feet, and said, "Among us, sir, such a present is rewarded with a golden cup." The king answered, with a smile, "An empty one, I suppose; but I will give you one full of good wine; and here, my boy, I drink to you." One day, as a Macedonian of mean circumstances was driving a mule, laden with the king's money, the mule tired; the man then took the burden upon his own shoulders, and carried it till he tottered under it, and was ready to give out. Alexander happening to see him, and being informed what it was, said, "Hold on, friend, the rest of the way, and carry it to your own tent; for it is yours." Indeed, he was generally more offended at those who refused his presents, than at those who asked favours of him. Hence he wrote to Phocion, that he could no longer number him among his friends, if he rejected the marks of his regard. He had given nothing to Serapion, one of the youths that played with him at ball, because he asked nothing. One day, when they were at their diversion, Serapion took care always to throw the ball to others of the party; upon which Alexander said, "Why do you not give it me?" "Because you did not ask for it," said the youth. The repartee pleased the king much; he laughed, and immediately made him very

valuable presents. One Proteas, a man of humour, and a jester by profession, had happened to offend him. His friends interceded for him, and he sued for pardon with tears ; which at last the king granted. "If you do really pardon me," resumed the wag, "I hope you will give me at least some substantial proof of it." And he condescended to do it in a present of five talents.

With what a free hand he showered his gifts upon his friends, and those who attended on his person,* appears from one of the letters of Olympias. "You do well," said she, "in serving your friends, and it is right to act nobly ; but by making them all equal to kings, in proportion as you put it in their power to make friends, you deprive yourself of that privilege." Olympias often wrote to him in that manner ; but he kept all her letters secret, except one, which Hephæstion happened to cast his eye upon, when he went, according to custom, to read over the king's shoulder : he did not hinder him from reading on ; only, when he had done, he took his signet from his finger and put it to his mouth.†

The son of Mazæus, who was the principal favourite of Darius, was already governor of a province, and the conqueror added to it another government still more considerable. But the young man declined it in a handsome manner, and said, "Sir, we had but one Darius, and now you make many Alexanders." He bestowed on Parmenio the house of Bagoas, in which were found such goods as were taken at Susa, to the value of 1000 talents. He wrote to Antipater to acquaint him that there was a design formed against his life, and ordered him to keep guards about him. As for his mother, he made her many magnificent presents ; but he would not suffer her busy genius to exert itself in state affairs, or in the least to control the proceedings of government. She complained of this as a hardship, and he bore her ill-humour with great mildness. Antipater once wrote him a long letter full of heavy complaints against her ; and when he read it, he said, "Antipater knows not that one tear of a mother can blot out a thousand such complaints."

He found that his great officers set no bounds to their luxury, that they were most extravagantly delicate in their diet, and profuse in other respects ; insomuch that Agnon of Teos wore

* He probably means in particular the fifty young men brought him by Amyntas, who were of the principal families in Macedonia. Their office was to wait on him at table, to attend with horses when he went to fight or hunt, and to keep guard day and night at his chamber door.

† To enjoin him silence.

silver nails in his shoes ; Leonatus had many camel-loads of earth brought from Egypt to rub himself with when he went to the wrestling-ring ; Philotas had hunting-nets that would enclose the space of 100 furlongs ; more made use of rich essences than oil after bathing, and had their grooms of the bath, as well as chamberlains who excelled in bed-making. This degeneracy he reproved with all the temper of a philosopher. He told them it was very strange to him, that, after having undergone so many glorious conflicts, they did not remember that those who come from labour and exercise always sleep more sweetly than the inactive and effeminate ; and that in comparing the Persian manners with the Macedonian, they did not perceive that nothing was more servile than the love of pleasure, or more princely than a life of toil. "How will that man," continued he, "take care of his own horse, or furbish his lance and helmet, whose hands are too delicate to wait on his own dear person? Know you not that the end of conquest is, not to do what the conquered have done, but something greatly superior?" After this, he constantly took the exercise of war or hunting, and exposed himself to danger and fatigue with less precaution than ever ; so that a Lacedæmonian ambassador, who attended him one day, when he killed a fierce lion, said, "Alexander, you have disputed the prize of royalty gloriously with the lion." Craterus got this hunting-piece represented in bronze, and consecrated it in the temple at Delphi. There were the lion, the dogs, the king fighting with the lion, and Craterus making up to the king's assistance. Some of these statues were the workmanship of Lysippus, and others of Leochares.

Thus Alexander hazarded his person, by way of exercise for himself, and example to others. But his friends, in the pride of wealth, were so devoted to luxury and ease that they considered long marches and campaigns as a burden, and by degrees came to murmur and speak ill of the king. At first he bore their censures with great moderation, and used to say there was something noble in hearing himself ill spoken of while he was doing well.* Indeed, in the least of the good offices he did his friends, there were great marks of affection and respect. We will give an instance or two of it. He wrote to Peucestas, who had been bit by a bear in hunting, to complain, that he had given an account of the accident, by letters, to others of his

* Voltaire says somewhere that it is a noble thing to made ingrates. He seems to be indebted for the sentiment to Alexander.

friends, and not to him. "But now," says he, "let me know how you do, and whether any of your company deserted you, that I may punish them if such there were." When Hephæstion happened to be absent upon business, he acquainted him in one of his letters, that as they were diverting themselves with hunting the ichneumon,* Craterus had the misfortune to be run through the thighs with Perdiccas's lance. When Peucestas recovered of a dangerous illness, he wrote a letter with his own hand to Alexippus the physician, to thank him for his care. During the sickness of Craterus, the king had a dream, in consequence of which he offered sacrifices for his recovery, and ordered him to do the same. Upon Pausanias the physician's design to give Craterus a dose of hellebore, he wrote to him, expressing his great anxiety about it, and desiring him to be particularly cautious in the use of that medicine. He imprisoned Ephialtes and Cissus, who brought him the first news of the flight and treasonable practices of Harpalus, supposing their information false. Upon his sending home the invalids and the superannuated, Euryalochus, the Agæan, got himself enrolled among the former. Soon after, it was discovered that he had no infirmity of body; and he confessed it was the love of Telesippa, who was going to return home, that put him upon that expedient to follow her. Alexander inquired who the woman was, and being informed that though a courtesan, she was not a slave, he said, "Euryalochus, I am willing to assist you in this affair; but as the woman is freeborn, you must see if we can prevail upon her by presents and courtship."

It is surprising that he had time or inclination to write letters about such unimportant affairs of his friends, as to give orders for diligent search to be made in Cilicia for Seleucus's runaway slave; to commend Peucestas for having seized Nicon, a slave that belonged to Craterus; and to direct Megabyzus, if possible,

* The Egyptian rat, called *ichneumon*, is of the size of a cat, with very rough hair, spotted with white, yellow, and ash-colour; its nose like that of a hog, with which it digs up the earth. It has short black legs, and a tail like a fox. It lives on lizards, serpents, snails, chameleons, etc., and is of great service in Egypt, by its natural instinct of hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing too great an increase of that destructive creature. The naturalists also say, that it is so greedy after the crocodile's liver, that rolling itself up in mud, it slips down his throat, while he sleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws its way out again.—DIOD. SIC. p. 32, 78; PLIN. l. vii. c. 24, 25.

The Egyptians worshipped the ichneumon for destroying the crocodiles. They worshipped the crocodile too, probably as the Indians do the devil, that it might do them no hurt.

to draw another slave from his asylum, and take him, but not to touch him while he remained in the temple.

It is said that in the first years of his reign, when capital causes were brought before him, he used to stop one of his ears with his hand, while the plaintiff was opening the indictment, that he might reserve it perfectly unprejudiced for hearing the defendant. But the many false informations which were afterwards lodged, and which, by means of some true circumstances, were so represented as to give an air of truth to the whole, broke his temper. Particularly in case of aspersions on his own character, his reason forsook him, and he became extremely and inflexibly severe ; as preferring his reputation to life and empire.

When he marched against Darius again, he expected another battle. But upon intelligence that Bessus had seized the person of that prince, he dismissed the Thessalians, and sent them home after he had given them a gratuity of 2000 talents, over and above their pay. The pursuit was long and laborious, for he rode 3300 furlongs in eleven days.* As they often suffered more from want of water than by fatigue, many of the cavalry were unable to hold out. While they were upon the march, some Macedonians had filled their bottles at a river, and were bringing the water upon mules. These people, seeing Alexander greatly distressed with thirst (for it was in the heat of the day), immediately filled a helmet with water, and presented it to him. He asked them to whom they were carrying it ; and they said, their sons : "but if our prince does but live, we shall get other children, if we lose them." Upon this, he took the helmet in his hands ; but looking round, and seeing all the horsemen bending their heads, and fixing their eyes upon the water, he returned it without drinking. However, he praised the people that offered it, and said, "If I alone drink, these good men will be dispirited."† The cavalry, who were witnesses to this act of temperance and magnanimity, cried out, "Let us march ! We are neither weary nor thirsty, nor shall we even think ourselves mortal, while under the conduct of such a king." At the same time they put spurs to their horses.

They had all the same affection to the cause, but only sixty

* As this was no more than forty miles a-day, our Newmarket heroes would have beat Alexander hollow. It is nothing when compared to Charles the Twelfth's march from Bender through Germany, nothing to the expedition of Hannibal along the African coast.

† Lucan has embellished this story for Cato, and has possibly introduced it merely upon imitation.

were able to keep up with him till he reached the enemy's camp. There they rode over the gold and silver that lay scattered about, and passing by a number of carriages full of women and children, which were in motion, but without charioteers, they hastened to the leading squadrons, not doubting that they should find Darius among them. At last, after much search, they found him extended on his chariot, and pierced with many darts. Though he was near his last moments, he had strength to ask for something to quench his thirst. A Macedonian, named Polystratus, brought him some cold water, and when he had drank, he said, "Friend, this fills up the measure of my misfortunes, to think I am not able to reward thee for this act of kindness. But Alexander will not let thee go without a recompense ; and the gods will reward Alexander for his humanity to my mother, to my wife, and children. Tell him I gave him my hand, for I give it thee in his stead," So saying, he took the hand of Polystratus, and immediately expired. When Alexander came up he showed his concern for that event by the strongest expressions, and covered the body with his own robe.

Bessus afterwards fell into his hands, and he punished his parricide in this manner. He caused two straight trees to be bent, and one of his legs to be made fast to each ; then suffering the trees to return to their former posture, his body was torn asunder by the violence of the recoil.*

As for the body of Darius, he ordered it should have all the honours of a royal funeral, and sent it embalmed to his mother. Oxathres, that prince's brother, he admitted into the number of his friends.

His next movement was into Hyrcania, which he entered with the flower of his army. There he took a view of the Caspian sea, which appeared to him not less than the Euxine, but its water was of a sweeter taste. He could get no certain information in what manner it was formed, but he conjectured that it came from an outlet of the Palus Mæotis. Yet the ancient naturalists were not ignorant of its origin : for many years before Alexander's expedition they wrote that there are four seas which stretch from the main ocean into the continent, the farthest north of which is the Hyrcanian or the Caspian.†

* Q. Curtius tells us, Alexander delivered up the assassin to Oxathres, the brother of Darius ; in consequence of which he had his nose and ears cut off, and was fastened to a cross, where he was despatched with darts and arrows.

† This is an error which Pliny too has followed. The Caspian sea has no communication with the ocean.

The barbarians here fell suddenly upon a party who were leading his horse Bucephalus, and took him. This provoked him so much, that he sent a herald to threaten them, their wives, and children, with utter extermination, if they did not restore him the horse. But upon their bringing him back, and surrendering to him their cities, he treated them with great clemency, and paid a considerable sum, by way of ransom, to those that took the horse.

From thence he marched into Parthia ; where, finding no employment for his arms, he first put on the robe of the barbarian kings ; whether it was that he conformed a little to their customs, because he knew how much a similarity of manners tends to reconcile and gain men's hearts ; or whether it was by way of experiment, to see if the Macedonians might be brought to pay him the greater deference, by accustoming them insensibly to the new barbaric attire and port which he assumed. However, he thought the Median habit made too stiff and exotic an appearance, and therefore took not the long breeches, or the sweeping train, or the tiara ; but adopting something between the Median and Persian mode, contrived vestments less pompous than the former, and more majestic than the latter. At first he used this dress only before the barbarians, or his particular friends within doors ; but in time he came to wear it when he appeared in public, and sat for the despatch of business. This was a mortifying sight to the Macedonians ; yet, as they admired his other virtues, they thought he might be suffered to please himself a little, and enjoy his vanity. Some indulgence seemed due to a prince, who, beside his other hardships, had lately been wounded in the leg with an arrow, which shattered the bone in such a manner, that splinters were taken out ; who, another time, had such a violent blow from a stone upon the nape of his neck, that an alarming darkness covered his eyes, and continued for some time ; and yet continued to expose his person without the least precaution. On the contrary, when he had passed the Oresartes, which he supposed to be the Tanais, he not only attacked the Scythians and routed them, but pursued them 100 furlongs, in spite of what he suffered at that time from a flux.

There the queen of the Amazons came to visit him, as Clitarchus, Policritus, Onesicritus, Antigeneſ, Iſter, and many other historians report. But Aristobulus, Chares of Theangela, Ptolemy, Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Philip, who was also of Theangela, as well as Hecateus of Eretria, Philip of Chalcis, and Duris of Samos, treat the story as a fiction. And indeed

Alexander himself seems to support their opinion. For in one of his letters to Antipater, to whom he gave an exact detail of all that passed, he says the king of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage, but he makes not the least mention of the Amazon. Nay, when Onesicritus, many years after, read to Lysimachus, then king, the fourth book of his history, in which this story was introduced, he smiled and said, "Where was I at that time?" But whether we give credit to this particular or not, is a matter that will neither add to nor lessen our opinion of Alexander.

As he was afraid that many of the Macedonians might dislike the remaining fatigues of the expedition, he left the greatest part of his army in quarters, and entered Hyrcania with a select body of 20,000 foot and 3000 horse. The purport of his speech upon the occasion was this: "Hitherto the barbarians have seen us only as in a dream. If you should think of returning, after having given Asia the alarm only, they will fall upon you with contempt as unenterprising and effeminate. Nevertheless, such as desire to depart have my consent for it: but, at the same time, I call the gods to witness, that they desert their king when he is conquering the world for the Macedonians, and leave him to the kinder and more faithful attachment of those few friends that will follow his fortune." This is almost word for word the same with what he wrote to Antipater; and he adds, that he had no sooner done speaking, than they cried, he might lead them to what part of the world he pleased. Thus he tried the disposition of these brave men: and there was no difficulty in bringing the whole body into their sentiments; they followed of course.

After this he accommodated himself more than ever to the manners of the Asiatics, and at the same time persuaded them to adopt some of the Macedonian fashions; for by a mixture of both he thought a union might be promoted much better than by force, and his authority maintained when he was at a distance. For the same reason he elected 30,000 boys, and gave them masters to instruct them in the Grecian literature, as well as to train them to arms in the Macedonian manner.

As for his marriage with Roxana, it was entirely the effect of love. He saw her at an entertainment, and found her charms irresistible. Nor was the match unsuitable to the situation of his affairs. The barbarians placed greater confidence in him on account of that alliance, and his chastity gained their affection; it delighted them to think, he would not approach the only woman he ever passionately loved without the sanction of marriage,

Hephæstion and Craterus were his two favourites. The former praised the Persian fashions, and dressed as he did ; the latter adhered to the customs of his own country. He therefore employed Hephæstion in his transactions with the barbarians, and Craterus to signify his pleasure to the Greeks and Macedonians. The one had more of his love, and the other more of his esteem. He was persuaded indeed, and he often said, Hephæstion loved Alexander, and Craterus the king. Hence arose private animosities, which did not fail to break out upon occasion. One day, in India, they drew their swords, and came to blows. The friends of each were joining in the quarrel, when Alexander interposed. He told Hephæstion publicly, he was a fool and a madman, not to be sensible, that without his master's favour he would be nothing. He gave Craterus also a severe reprimand in private ; and after having brought them together again, and reconciled them, he swore by Jupiter Ammon, and all the other gods, that he loved them more than all the men in the world : but, if he perceived them at variance again, he would put them both to death, or him, at least, who began the quarrel. This is said to have had such an effect upon them that they never expressed any dislike to each other, even in jest, afterwards.

Among the Macedonians, Philotas, the son of Parmenio, had greater authority ; for he was not only valiant and indefatigable in the field, but, after Alexander, no man loved his friend more, or had a greater spirit of generosity. We are told that a friend of his one day requested a sum of money, and he ordered it to be given him. The steward said he had not it to give. "What," says Philotas, "hast thou not plate, or some other movable?" However, he affected an ostentation of wealth, and a magnificence in his dress and table, that was above the condition of a subject. Besides, the loftiness of his port was altogether extravagant ; not tempered with any natural graces, but formal and uncouth, it exposed him both to hatred and suspicion ; insomuch that Parmenio one day said to him, "My son, be less." He had long been represented in an invidious light to Alexander. When Damascus, with all its riches, was taken, upon the defeat of Darius in Cilicia, among the number of captives that were brought to the camp there was a beautiful young woman called Antigone, a native of Pydna, who fell to the share of Philotas. Like a young soldier with a favourite mistress, in his cups he indulged his vanity, and let many indiscreet things escape him ; attributing all the great actions of the war to himself and to his father. As for Alexander, he called him a boy, who by their

means enjoyed the title of a conqueror. The woman told these things in confidence to one of her acquaintance, and he (as is common) mentioned them to another. At last, they came to the ear of Craterus, who took the woman privately before Alexander. When the king had heard the whole from her own mouth, he ordered her to go as usual to Philotas, but to make her report to him of all that he said. Philotas, ignorant of the snares that were laid for him, conversed with the woman without the least reserve, and either in his resentment or pride uttered many unbecoming things against Alexander. That prince, though he had sufficient proof against Philotas, kept the matter private, and discovered no tokens of aversion; whether it was that he confided in Parmenio's attachment to him, or whether he was afraid of the power and interest of the family.

About this time a Macedonian named Limnus,* a native of Chalæstra, conspired against Alexander's life, and communicated his design to one Nicomachus, a youth that he was fond of; desiring him to take a part in the enterprise. Nicomachus, instead of embracing the proposal, informed his brother Balinus of the plot, who went immediately to Philotas, and desired him to introduce them to Alexander; assuring him it was upon business of great importance. Whatever might be his reason (for it is not known) Philotas refused them admittance, on pretence that Alexander had other great engagements then upon his hands. They applied again, and met with a denial. By this time they entertained some suspicion of Philotas, and addressed themselves to Metron, who introduced them to the king immediately. They informed him first of the conspiracy of Limnus, and then hinted to him their suspicions of Philotas, on account of his rejecting two several applications.

Alexander was incensed at this negligence; and when he found that the person who was sent to arrest Limnus had killed him† because he stood upon his defence and refused to be taken, it disturbed him still more, to think he had lost the means of discovering his accomplices. His resentment against Philotas gave opportunity to those who had long hated that officer to avow their dislike, and to declare how much the king was to blame in suffering himself to be so easily imposed upon as to think that Limnus, an insignificant Chalæstrean, durst engage, of his own accord, in such a bold design. "No doubt," said they, "he was the agent, or rather the instrument, of some

* It should, undoubtedly, be read *Dymnus*, as Q. Curtius and Diodorus have it.

† Other authors say he killed himself.

superior hand ; and the king should trace out the source of the conspiracy among those who have the most interest in having it concealed."

As he began to listen to these discourses, and to give way to his suspicions, it brought innumerable accusations against Philotas, some of them very groundless. He was apprehended and put to the torture, in presence of the great officers of the court. Alexander had placed himself behind the tapestry to hear the examination ; and when he found that Philotas bemoaned himself in such a lamentable manner, and had recourse to such mean supplications to Hephæstion, he is reported to have said, "O Philotas, durst thou, with all this unmanly weakness, embark in so great and hazardous an enterprise ?"

After the execution of Philotas, he immediately sent orders into Media that Parmenio should be put to death ; a man who had a share in most of Philip's conquests, and who was the principal, if not the only one of the old counsellors who put Alexander upon his expedition into Asia. Of three sons whom he took over with him, he had seen two slain in battle, and with the third he fell a sacrifice himself. These proceedings made Alexander terrible to his friends, particularly to Antipater. That regent, therefore, sent privately to the Ætolians, and entered into league with them. They had something to fear from Alexander as well as he, for they had sacked the city of the Cœniades ; and when the king was informed of it, he said, "The children of the Cœniades need not revenge their cause ; I will punish the Ætolians myself."

Soon after this happened the affair of Clitus ; which, however simply related, is much more shocking than the execution of Philotas. Yet, if we reflect on the occasion and circumstances of the thing, we shall conclude it was a misfortune rather than a deliberate act, and that Alexander's unhappy passion and intoxication only furnished the evil genius of Clitus with the means of accomplishing his destruction. It happened in the following manner. The king had some Grecian fruit brought him from on board a vessel, and as he greatly admired its freshness and beauty, he desired Clitus to see it, and partake of it. It happened that Clitus was offering sacrifice that day ; but he left it to wait upon the king. Three of the sheep on which the libation was already poured followed him. The king, informed of that accident, consulted his soothsayers, Aristander and Cleomantis the Spartan, upon it ; and they assured him it was a very bad omen. He, therefore, ordered the victims to be

immediately offered for the health of Clitus ; the rather because three days before he had a strange and alarming dream, in which Clitus appeared in mourning, sitting by the dead sons of Parmenio. However, before the sacrifice was finished, Clitus went to sup with the king, who that day had been paying his homage to Castor and Pollux.

After they were warmed with drinking, somebody began to sing the verses of one Pranicus, or, as others will have it, of Pierio, written in ridicule of the Macedonian officers who had lately been beaten by the barbarians. The older part of the company were greatly offended at it, and condemned both the poet and the singer ; but Alexander, and those about him, listened with pleasure, and bade him go on. Clitus, who by this time had drank too much, and was naturally rough and froward, could not bear their behaviour. He said it was not well done to make a jest, and that among barbarians and enemies of Macedonians, that were much better men than the laughers, though they had met with a misfortune. Alexander made answer that Clitus was pleading his own cause when he gave cowardice the soft name of misfortune. Then Clitus started up, and said, " Yet it was this cowardice that saved you, son of Jupiter as you are, when you were turning your back to the sword of Spithridates. It is by the blood of the Macedonians and these wounds that you are grown so great that you disdain to acknowledge Philip for your father, and will needs pass yourself for the son of Jupiter Ammon."

Irritated at this insolence, Alexander replied, " It is in this villainous manner thou talkest of me in all companies, and stirrest up the Macedonians to mutiny ; but dost thou think to enjoy it long ? " " And what do we enjoy now ? " said Clitus, " what reward have we for all our toils ? Do we not envy those who did not live to see Macedonians bleed under Median rods, or sue to Persians for access to their king ? " While Clitus went on in this rash manner, and the king retorted upon him with equal bitterness, the old men interposed, and endeavoured to allay the flame. Meantime Alexander turned to Xenodochus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, and said, " Do not the Greeks appear to you among the Macedonians like demi-gods among so many wild beasts ? " Clitus, far from giving up the dispute, called upon Alexander to speak out what he had to say, or not to invite freemen to his table, who would declare their sentiments without reserve. " But, perhaps," continued he, " it were better to pass your life with barbarians and slaves, who will worship your Persian girdle and white robe without scruple."

Alexander, no longer able to restrain his anger, threw an apple at his face, and then looked about for his sword. But Aristophanes, one of his guards, had taken it away in time, and the company gathered about him, and entreated him to be quiet. Their remonstrances, however, were vain. He broke from them, and called out, in the Macedonian language, for his guards, which was the signal for a great tumult. At the same time he ordered the trumpeter to sound, and struck him with his fist, upon his discovering an unwillingness to obey. This man was afterwards held in great esteem, because he prevented the whole army from being alarmed.

As Clitus would not make the least submission, his friends, with much ado, forced him out of the room. But he soon returned by another door, repeating, in a bold and disrespectful tone, those verses from the *Andromache* of Euripides—

“Are these your customs? Is it thus that Greece
Rewards her combatants? * Shall one man claim
The trophies won by thousands?”

Then Alexander snatched a spear from one of his guards, and meeting Clitus as he was putting by the curtain, ran him through the body. He fell immediately to the ground, and with a dismal groan expired.

Alexander's rage subsided in a moment; he came to himself; and seeing his friends standing in silent astonishment by him, he hastily drew the spear out of the dead body, and was applying it to his own throat, when his guards seized his hands, and carried him by force into his chamber. He passed that night and the next day in anguish inexpressible; and when he had wasted himself with tears and lamentations, he lay in speechless grief, uttering only now and then a groan. His friends, alarmed at this melancholy silence, forced themselves into the room, and attempted to console him. But he would listen to none of them, except Aristander, who put him in mind of his dream and the ill omen of the sheep, and assured him that the whole was by the decree of fate. As he seemed a little comforted, Callisthenes, the philosopher, Aristotle's near relation, and Anaxarchus the Abderite, were called in.† Callisthenes began

* This is the speech of Peleus to Menelaus.

† Callisthenes was of the city of Olynthus, and had been recommended to Alexander by Aristotle, whose relation he was. He had too much of the spirit of liberty to be fit for a court. He did not show it, however, in this instance. Aristotle forewarned him, that if he went on to treat the king with the freedom with which his spirit prompted, it would one day be fatal to him.

in a soft and tender manner, endeavouring to relieve him without searching the wound. But Anaxarchus, who had a particular walk in philosophy, and looked upon his fellow-labourers in science with contempt, cried out, on entering the room, "Is this Alexander, upon whom the whole world have their eyes? Can it be he who lies extended on the ground, crying like a slave, in fear of the law and the tongues of men, to whom he should himself be a law, and the measure of right and wrong? What did he conquer for but to rule and to command, not servilely to submit to the vain opinions of men? Know you not," continued he, "that Jupiter is represented with Themis and Justice by his side, to show, that whatever is done by supreme power is right?" By this, and other discourses of the same kind, he alleviated the king's grief, indeed, but made him, withal, more haughty and unjust. At the same time he insinuated himself into his favour in so extraordinary a manner, that he could no longer bear the conversation of Callisthenes, who before was not very agreeable, on account of his austerity.

One day a dispute had arisen at table about the seasons and the temperature of the climate. Callisthenes held with those who asserted, that the country they were then in was much colder, and the winters more severe, than in Greece. Anaxarchus maintained the contrary with great obstinacy. Upon which Callisthenes said, "You must needs acknowledge, my friend, that this is much the colder; for there you went in winter in one cloak, and here you cannot sit at table without three housing coverlets one over another." This stroke went to the heart of Anaxarchus.

Callisthenes was disagreeable to all the other sophists and flatterers at court; the more so, because he was followed by the young men on account of his eloquence, and no less acceptable to the old for his regular, grave, self-satisfied course of life. All which confirms what was said to be the cause of his going to Alexander—namely, an ambition to bring his fellow-citizens back, and to re-people the place of his nativity.* His great reputation naturally exposed him to envy; and he gave some room for calumny himself, by often refusing the king's invitations, and when he did go to his entertainments, by sitting solemn and silent; which showed that he could neither

* Olynthus was one of the cities destroyed by Philip; whether Alexander permitted the philosopher to re-establish it is uncertain; but Cicero informs us, that, in his time, it was a flourishing place. *Vide Or. iii. in Verrem.*

commend, nor was satisfied with what passed ; insomuch that Alexander said to him one day—

“I hate the sage
Who reaps no fruits of wisdom to himself.”

Once when he was at the king's table with a large company, and the cup came to him, he was desired to pronounce an eulogium upon the Macedonians extempore, which he did with so much eloquence, that the guests, beside their plaudits, rose up and covered him with their garlands. Upon this, Alexander said, in the words of Euripides—

“ When great the theme, 'tis easy to excel.”

“ But show us now,” continued he, “ the power of your rhetoric, in speaking against the Macedonians, that they may see their faults, and amend.”

Then the orator took the other side, and spoke with equal fluency against the encroachments and other faults of the Macedonians, as well as against the divisions among the Greeks, which he showed to be the only cause of the great increase of Philip's power ; concluding with these words—

“ Amidst sedition's waves
The worst of mortals may emerge to honour.”

By this he drew upon himself the implacable hatred of the Macedonians, and Alexander said he gave not, in this case, a specimen of his eloquence, but of his malevolence.

Hermippus assures us, that Stroibus, a person employed by Callisthenes to read to him, gave this account of the matter to Aristotle. He adds, that Callisthenes perceiving the king's aversion to him, repeated this verse two or three times at parting—

“ Patroclus, thy superior is no more.”

It was not, therefore, without reason that Aristotle said of Callisthenes, “ His eloquence, indeed, is great, but he wants common sense.” He not only refused, with all the firmness of a philosopher, to pay his respects to Alexander by prostration, but stood forth singly, and uttered in public many grievances which the best and oldest of the Macedonians durst not reflect upon but in secret, though they were as much displeased at them as he. By preventing the prostration, he saved the Greeks, indeed, from a great dishonour, and Alexander from a

greater ; but he ruined himself ; because his manner was such, that he seemed rather desirous to compel than to persuade.

Chares of Mitylene tells us that Alexander, at one of his entertainments, after he had drank, reached the cup to one of his friends. That friend had no sooner received it than he rose up, and turning towards the hearth, where stood the domestic gods, to drink, he worshipped, and then kissed Alexander. This done, he took his place against the table. All the guests did the same in their order, except Callisthenes. When it came to his turn, he drank, and then approached to give the king a kiss, who being engaged in some discourse with Hephæstion, happened not to mind him. But Demetrius, surnamed Phidon, cried out, "Receive not his kiss ; for he alone has not adored you." Upon which Alexander refused it, and Callisthenes said aloud, "Then I return one kiss the poorer."

A coldness, of course, ensued ; but many other things contributed to his fall. In the first place, Hephæstion's report was believed, that Callisthenes had promised him to adore the king, and broke his word. In the next place, Lysimachus and Agnon attacked him, and said the sophist went about with as much pride as if he had demolished a tyranny, and the young men followed him, as the only freemen among so many thousands. These things, upon the discovery of Hermolaus's plot against Alexander, gave an air of probability to what was alleged against Callisthenes. His enemies said, Hermolaus inquired of him, by what means he might become the most famous man in the world, and that he answered, "By killing the most famous." They farther asserted, that by way of encouraging him to the attempt, he bade him not be afraid of the golden bed, but remember he had to do with a man who had suffered both by sickness and by wounds.

Neither Hermolaus, however, nor any of his accomplices, made any mention of Callisthenes amidst the extremities of torture. Nay, Alexander himself, in the account he immediately gave of the plot to Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, writes, that the young men, when put to the torture, declared it was entirely their own enterprise, and that no man besides was privy to it. Yet afterwards, in a letter to Antipater, he affirms that Callisthenes was as guilty as the rest. "The Macedonians," says he, "have stoned the young men to death. As for the sophist, I will punish him myself, and those that sent him too ; nor shall the towns that harboured the conspirators escape." In which he plainly discovers his aversion to Aristotle, by whom Callisthenes was brought up as a relation ; for he was

the son of Hero, Aristotle's niece. His death is variously related. Some say Alexander ordered him to be hanged ; others, that he fell sick and died in chains ; and Chares writes that he was kept seven months in prison, in order to be tried in full council in the presence of Aristotle ; but that he died of excessive corpulency and the lousy disease at the time that Alexander was wounded by the Malli Oxydracæ in India. This happened, however, at a later period than we are upon.

In the meantime, Demeratus the Corinthian, though far advanced in years, was ambitious of going to see Alexander. Accordingly he took the voyage, and when he beheld him, he said the Greeks fell short of a great pleasure who did not live to see Alexander upon the throne of Darius. But he did not live to enjoy the king's friendship. He sickened and died soon after. The king, however, performed his obsequies in the most magnificent manner ; and the army threw up for him a monument of earth of great extent, and fourscore cubits high. His ashes were carried to the sea-shore in a chariot and four, with the richest ornaments.

When Alexander was upon the point of setting out for India, he saw his troops were so laden with spoils that they were unfit to march. Therefore, early in the morning that he was to take his departure, after the carriages were assembled, he first set fire to his own baggage and that of his friends ; and then gave orders that the rest should be served in the same manner. The resolution appeared more difficult to take than it was to execute. Few were displeased at it, and numbers received it with acclamations of joy. They freely gave part of their equipage to such as were in need, and burned and destroyed whatever was superfluous. This greatly encouraged and fortified Alexander in his design. Besides, by this time he was become inflexibly severe in punishing offences. Menander, though one of his friends, he put to death, for refusing to stay in a fortress he had given him the charge of ; and one of the barbarians, named Osodates, he shot dead with an arrow, for the crime of rebellion.

About this time a sheep yeaned a lamb with the perfect form and colour of a *tiara* upon its head, on each side of which were testicles. Looking upon the prodigy with horror, he employed the Chaldæans, who attended him for such purposes, to purify him by their expiations. He told his friends, on this occasion, that he was more troubled on their account than his own ; for he was afraid that after his death fortune would throw the empire into the hands of some obscure and weak man. A

better omen, however, soon dissipated his fears. A Macedonian, named Proxenus, who had the charge of the king's equipage, on opening * the ground by the river Oxus, in order to pitch his master's tent, discovered a spring of a gross oily liquor; which, after the surface was taken off, came perfectly clear, and neither in taste nor smell differed from real oil, nor was inferior to it in smoothness and brightness, though there were no olives in that country. It is said, indeed, that the water of the Oxus is of so unctuous a quality, that it makes the skins of those who bathe in it smooth and shining.†

It appears from a letter of Alexander's to Antipater, that he was greatly delighted with this incident, and reckoned it one of the happiest presages the gods had afforded him. The sooth-sayers said it betokened that the expedition would prove a glorious one, but at the same time laborious and difficult, because heaven has given men oil to refresh them after their labours. Accordingly he met with great dangers in the battles that he fought, and received very considerable wounds. But his army suffered most by want of necessaries and by the climate. For his part, he was ambitious to show that courage can triumph over fortune, and magnanimity over force: he thought nothing invincible to the brave, or impregnable to the bold. Pursuant to this opinion, when he besieged Sisimethres‡ upon a rock extremely steep and apparently inaccessible, and saw his men greatly discouraged at the enterprise, he asked Oxyartes, whether Sisimethres were a man of spirit. And being answered that he was timorous and dastardly, he said, "You inform me the rock may be taken, since there is no strength in its defender." In fact, he found means to intimidate Sisimethres, and made himself master of the fort.

In the siege of another fort, situated in a place equally steep, among the young Macedonians that were to give the assault there was one called Alexander; and the king took occasion to

* Strabo (lib. ii.) ascribes the same properties to the ground near the river Ochus. Indeed, the Ochus and the Oxus unite their streams, and flow together into the Caspian sea.

† Pliny tells us, that the surface of these rivers was a consistence of salt, and that the waters flowed under it as under a crust of ice. The salt consistence he imputes to the defluxions from the neighbouring mountains, but he says nothing of the unctuous quality of these waters mentioned by Plutarch.—*Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxi.

‡ This stronghold was situated in Bactriana. Strabo says, it was fifteen furlongs high, as many in compass, and that the top was a fertile plain, capable of maintaining 500. It was in Bactriana that Alexander married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes.

say to him, "You must behave gallantly, my friend, to do justice to your name." He was informed afterwards that the young man fell as he was distinguishing himself in a glorious manner, and he laid it much to heart.

When he sat down before Nysa, the Macedonians made some difficulty of advancing to the attack, on account of the depth of the river that washed its walls, till Alexander said, "What a wretch am I, that I did not learn to swim," and was going to ford it with his shield in his hand. After the first assault, while the troops were refreshing themselves, ambassadors came with an offer to capitulate; and along with them deputies from some other places. They were surprised to see him in armour without any pomp or ceremony; and their astonishment increased when he bade the oldest of the ambassadors, named Acuphis, take the sofa that was brought for himself. Acuphis, struck with a benignity of reception so far beyond his hopes, asked what they must do to be admitted into his friendship. Alexander answered, "It must be on condition that they appoint you their governor, and send me a hundred of their best men for hostages." Acuphis smiled at this; and said, "I should govern better if you would take the worst, instead of the best."

It is said the dominions of Taxiles, in India,* were as large as Egypt: they afforded excellent pasturage too, and were the most fertile in all respects. As he was a man of great prudence, he waited on Alexander, and after the first compliments, thus addressed him: "What occasion is there for wars between you and me, if you are not come to take from us our water and other necessaries of life; the only things that reasonable men will take up arms for? As to gold and silver, and other possessions, if I am richer than you, I am willing to oblige you with part; if I am poorer, I have no objection to sharing in your bounty." Charmed with his frankness, Alexander took his hand, and answered, "Think you, then, with all this civility, to escape without a conflict? You are much deceived if you do. I will dispute it with you to the last; but it shall be in favours and benefits; for I will not have you exceed me in generosity." Therefore, after having received great presents from him, and made greater, he said to him one evening, "I drink to you, Taxiles, and as sure as you pledge me, you shall have a thousand talents." His friends were offended at his giving away such immense sums, but it made many of the barbarians look upon him with a kinder eye.

* Between the Indus and the Hydaspes.

The most warlike of the Indians used to fight for pay. Upon this invasion they defended the cities that hired them with great vigour, and Alexander suffered by them not a little. To one of the cities he granted an honourable capitulation, and yet seized the mercenaries, as they were upon their march homewards, and put them all to the sword. This is the only blot in his military conduct ; all his other proceedings were agreeable to the laws of war, and worthy of a king.

The philosophers gave him no less trouble than the mercenaries, by endeavouring to fix a mark of infamy upon those princes that declared for him, and by exciting the free nations to take up arms ; for which reason he hanged many of them.

As to his war with Porus, we have an account of it in his own letters. According to them, the river Hydaspes was between the two armies, and Porus drew up his elephants on the banks opposite the enemy with their heads towards the stream, to guard it. Alexander caused a great noise and bustle to be made every day in his camp, that the barbarians, being accustomed to it, might not be so ready to take the alarm. This done, he took the advantage of a dark and stormy night, with part of his infantry, and a select body of cavalry, to gain a little island in the river, at some distance from the Indians. When he was there, he and his troops were attacked with a most violent wind and rain, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning. But, notwithstanding this hurricane, in which he saw several of his men perish by the lightning, he advanced from the island to the opposite bank. The Hydaspes, swollen with the rain, by its violence and rapidity made a breach on that side, which received water enough to form a bay, so that when he came to land, he found the bank extremely slippery, and the ground broken and undermined by the current. On this occasion he is said to have uttered that celebrated saying, "Will you believe, my Athenian friends, what dangers I undergo, to have you the heralds of my fame?" The last particular we have from Onesicritus ; but Alexander himself only says they quitted their boats, and, armed as they were, waded up the beach breast high ; and that when they were landed, he advanced with the horse twenty furlongs before the foot, concluding that if the enemy attacked him with their cavalry, he should be greatly their superior, and that if they made a movement with their infantry, his would come up time enough to receive them. Nor did he judge amiss. The enemy detached against him 1000 horse and sixty armed chariots, and he defeated them with ease. The chariots he took, and killed

400 of the cavalry upon the spot. By this, Porus understood that Alexander himself had passed the river, and therefore brought up his whole army, except what appeared necessary to keep the rest of the Macedonians from making good their passage. Alexander, considering the force of the elephants, and the enemy's superior numbers, did not choose to engage them in front, but attacked the left wing himself, while Cœnus, according to his orders, fell upon the right. Both wings being broken, retired to the elephants in the centre, and rallied there. The combat then was of a more mixed kind ; but maintained with such obstinacy, that it was not decided till the eighth hour of the day. This description of the battle we have from the conqueror himself, in one of his epistles.

Most historians agree that Porus was four cubits and a palm high, and that though the elephant he rode was one of the largest, his stature and bulk were such, that he appeared but proportionably mounted. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave extraordinary proofs of his sagacity and care of the king's person. As long as that prince was able to fight, he defended him with great courage, and repulsed all assailants ; and when he perceived him ready to sink under the multitude of darts and the wounds with which he was covered, to prevent his falling off, he kneeled down in the softest manner, and with his proboscis gently drew every dart out of his body.

When Porus was taken prisoner, Alexander asked him how he desired to be treated. He answered, "Like a king." "And have you nothing else to request?" replied Alexander. "No," said he ; "everything is comprehended in the word king." Alexander not only restored him his own dominions immediately, which he was to govern as his lieutenant, but added very extensive territories to them ; for having subdued a free country, which contained fifteen nations, 5000 considerable cities, and villages in proportion, he bestowed it on Porus. Another country, three times as large, he gave to Philip, one of his friends, who was also to act there as his lieutenant.

In the battle with Porus, Bucephalus received several wounds, of which he died some time after. This is the account most writers give us : but Onesicritus says, he died of age and fatigue, for he was thirty years old. Alexander showed as much regret as if he had lost a faithful friend and companion. He esteemed him, indeed, as such ; and built a city near the Hydaspes, in the place where he was buried, which he called after him, Bucephalia. He is also reported to have built a city, and called it Peritas, in memory of a dog of that name, which he

had brought up and was very fond of. This particular, Sotio says, he had from Potamo of Lesbos.

The combat with Porus abated the spirit of the Macedonians, and made them resolve to proceed no farther in India. It was with difficulty they had defeated an enemy who brought only 20,000 foot and 2000 horse into the field ; and therefore they opposed Alexander with great firmness when he insisted that they should pass the Ganges, which, they were informed, was thirty-two furlongs in breadth, and in depth 100 fathoms. The opposite shore too was covered with numbers of squadrons, battalions, and elephants. For the kings of the Candarites and Præsiens were said to be waiting for them there, with 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8000 chariots, and 6000 elephants trained to war. Nor is this number at all magnified : for Androcottus, who reigned not long after, made Seleucus a present of 500 elephants at one time, and with an army of 600,000 men traversed India, and conquered the whole.

Alexander's grief and indignation at this refusal were such, that at first he shut himself up in his tent, and lay prostrate on the ground, declaring, he did not thank the Macedonians in the least for what they had done, if they would not pass the Ganges ; for he considered a retreat no other than an acknowledgment that he was overcome. His friends omitted nothing that might comfort him ; and at last their remonstrances, together with the cries and tears of the soldiers, who were suppliants at his door, melted him, and prevailed on him to return. However, he first contrived many vain and sophistical things to serve the purposes of fame ; among which were arms much bigger than his men could use, and higher mangers, and heavier bits than his horses required, left scattered up and down. He built also great altars, for which the Præsiens still retain much veneration, and their kings cross the Ganges every year to offer sacrifices in the Grecian manner upon them. Androcottus, who was then very young, had a sight of Alexander, and he is reported to have often said afterwards, that Alexander was within a little of making himself master of all the country ; with such hatred and contempt was the reigning prince looked upon, on account of his profligacy of manners, and meanness of birth.

Alexander, in his march from thence, formed a design to see the ocean ; for which purpose he caused a number of row-boats and rafts to be constructed, and, upon them, fell down the rivers at his leisure. Nor was the navigation unattended with hostilities. He made several descents by the way, and attacked the adjacent cities, which were all forced to submit to his victorious

arms. However, he was very near being cut in pieces by the Malli, who are called the most warlike people in India. He had driven some of them from the wall with his massive weapons, and was the first man that ascended it. But presently after he was up, the scaling ladder broke. Finding himself and his small company much galled by the darts of the barbarians from below, he poised himself, and leaped down into the midst of the enemy. By good fortune he fell upon his feet; and the barbarians were so astonished at the flashing of his arms as he came down, that they thought they beheld lightning, or some supernatural splendour issuing from his body. At first, therefore, they drew back and dispersed. But when they had recollected themselves, and saw him attended only by two of his guards, they attacked him hand to hand, and wounded him through his armour with their swords and spears, notwithstanding the valour with which he fought. One of them standing farther off, drew an arrow with such strength, that it made its way through his cuirass, and entered the ribs under the breast. Its force was so great, that he gave back and was brought upon his knees, and the barbarian ran up with his drawn scimitar to despatch him. Peucestas and Limnæus* placed themselves before him, but one was wounded and the other killed. Peucestas, who survived, was still making some resistance, when Alexander recovered himself and laid the barbarian at his feet. The king, however, received new wounds, and at last had such a blow from a bludgeon upon his neck, that he was forced to support himself by the wall, and there stood with his face to the enemy. The Macedonians, who by this time had got in, gathered about him, and carried him off to his tent.

His senses were gone, and it was the current report of the army that he was dead. When they had, with great difficulty, sawed off the shaft, which was of wood, and with equal trouble had taken off the cuirass, they proceeded to extract the head, which was three fingers broad, and four long, and stuck fast in the bone. He fainted under the operation, and was very near expiring; but when the head was got out, he came to himself. Yet, after the danger was over, he continued weak, and a long time confined himself to a regular diet, attending solely to the cure of his wound. The Macedonians could not bear to be so deprived of the sight of their king; they assembled in a tumultuous manner about his tent. When he perceived this, he put on his robe, and made his appearance; but as soon as he had sacrificed to the gods, he retired again. As he was on his way

* Q. Curtius calls him *Timæus*.

to the place of his destination, though carried in a litter by the water side, he subdued a large track of land, and many respectable cities.

In the course of this expedition, he took ten of the *Gymnosophists*,* who had been principally concerned in instigating Sabbas to revolt, and had brought numberless other troubles upon the Macedonians. As these ten were reckoned the most acute and concise in their answers, he put the most difficult questions to them that could be thought of, and at the same time declared, he would put the first person that answered wrong to death, and after him all the rest. The oldest man among them was to be judge.

He demanded of the first, "Which were most numerous, the living or the dead?" He answered the living; "for the dead no longer exist."†

The second was asked, "Whether the earth or the sea produced the largest animals?" He answered, "The earth; for the sea is part of it."

The third, "Which is the craftiest of all animals?" "That," said he, "with which man is not yet acquainted."‡

The fourth, "What was his reason for persuading Sabbas to revolt?" "Because," said he, "I wished him either to live with honour, or to die as a coward deserves."

The fifth had this question put to him, "Which do you think oldest, the day or the night?" He answered, "The day, by one day." As the king appeared surprised at this solution, the philosopher told him, "Abstruse questions must have abstruse answers."

Then addressing himself to the sixth, he demanded, "What are the best means for a man to make himself loved?" He answered, "If possessed of great power, do not make yourself feared."

The seventh was asked, "How a man might become a god?" He answered, "By doing what is impossible for man to do."

* These philosophers, so called from their going naked, were divided into two sects, the Brachmani and the Germani. The Brachmani were most esteemed, because there was a consistency in their principles. Apuleius tells us, that not only the scholars, but the younger pupils were assembled about dinner time, and examined what good they had done that day; and such as could not point out some act of humanity, or useful pursuit that they had been engaged in, were not allowed any dinner.

† They did not hold the mortality, but the transmigration of the soul.

‡ This we suppose to mean man himself, as not being acquainted with himself.

The eighth, "Which is strongest, life or death?" "Life," said he; "because it bears so many evils."

The last question that he put was, "How long is it good for a man to live?" "As long," said the philosopher, "as he does not prefer death to life."

Then turning to the judge, he ordered him to give sentence. The old man said, "In my opinion they have all answered one worse than another." "If this is thy judgment," said Alexander, "thou shalt die first." "No," replied the philosopher, "not except you choose to break your word: for you declared the man that answered worst should first suffer."

The king loaded them with presents, and dismissed them. After which he sent Onesicritus, a disciple of Diogenes, to the other Indian sages who were of most reputation, and lived a retired life, to desire them to come to him. Onesicritus tells us, Calanus treated him with great insolence and harshness, bidding him to strip himself naked, if he desired to hear any of his doctrine; "You should not hear me on any other condition," said he, "though you came from Jupiter himself." Dandamis behaved with more civility; and when Onesicritus had given him an account of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Diogenes, he said, they appeared to him to have been men of genius, but to have lived with too passive a regard to the laws.

Others say, Dandamis entered into no discourse with the messenger, but only asked why Alexander had taken so long a journey. As to Calanus, it is certain Taxiles prevailed with him to go to Alexander. His true name was Sphines; but because he addressed them with the word *Cale*, which is the Indian form of salutation, the Greeks called him Calanus. This philosopher, we are told, presented Alexander with a good image of his empire. He laid a dry and shrivelled hide before him, and first trod upon the edges of it. This he did all round; and as he trod on one side, it started up on the other. At last, he fixed his feet on the middle, and then it lay still. By this emblem he showed him, that he should fix his residence, and plant his principal force in the heart of his empire, and not wander to the extremities.

Alexander spent seven months in falling down the rivers to the ocean. When he arrived there, he embarked, and sailed to an island which he called Scilloustis, but others call it Psiltoucis. There he landed, and sacrificed to the gods. He likewise considered the nature of the sea and of the coast, as far as it was accessible. And after having besought Heaven that no man might ever reach beyond the bounds of his expedition,

he prepared to set out on his way back. He appointed Nearchus admiral, and Onesicritus chief pilot, and ordered his fleet to sail round, keeping India on the right. With the rest of his forces he returned by land, through the country of the Orites ; in which he was reduced to such extremities, and lost such numbers of men, that he did not bring back from India above a fourth part of the army he entered it with, which was no less than 120,000 foot, and 15,000 horse. Violent distempers, ill diet, and excessive heats, destroyed multitudes ; but famine made still greater ravages. For it was a barren and uncultivated country ; the natives lived miserably, having nothing to subsist on but a few bad sheep, which used to feed on the fish thrown up by the sea ; consequently they were poor, and their flesh of a bad flavour.

With much difficulty he traversed this country in sixty days, and then arrived in Gedrosia. There he found provisions in abundance ; for besides that the land is fertile in itself, the neighbouring princes and grandees supplied him. After he had given his army some time to refresh themselves, he marched in Carmania for seven days in a kind of a Bacchanalian procession. His chariot, which was very magnificent, was drawn by eight horses. Upon it was placed a lofty platform, where he and his principal friends revelled day and night. This carriage was followed by many others, some covered with rich tapestry and purple hangings, and others shaded with branches of trees fresh gathered and flourishing. In these were the rest of the king's friends and generals, crowned with flowers, and exhilarated with wine.

In this whole company there was not to be seen a buckler, a helmet, or spear ; but, instead of them, cups, flagons, and goblets. These the soldiers dipped in huge vessels of wine, and drank to each other, some as they marched along, and others seated at tables, which were placed at proper distances on the way. The whole country resounded with flutes, clarionets, and songs, and with the dances and riotous frolics of the women. This disorderly and dissolute march was closed with a very immodest figure, and with all the licentious ribaldry of the Bacchanals, as if Bacchus himself had been present to carry on the debauch.

When Alexander arrived at the royal palace of Gedrosia, he gave his army time to refresh themselves again, and entertained them with feasts and public spectacles. At one of these, in which the choruses disputed the prize of dancing, he appeared inflamed with wine. His favourite Bagoas happening to win it,

crossed the theatre in his habit of ceremony, and seated himself by the king. The Macedonians expressed their satisfaction with loud plaudits, and called out to the king to kiss him, with which at last he complied.

Nearchus joined him again here, and he was so much delighted with the account of his voyage, that he formed a design to sail in person from the Euphrates with a great fleet, circle the coast of Arabia and Africa, and enter the Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules. For this purpose, he constructed, at Thapsacus, a number of vessels of all sorts, and collected mariners and pilots. But the report of the difficulties he had met with in his Indian expedition, particularly in his attack of the Malli, his great loss of men in the country of the Orites, and the supposition he would never return alive from the voyage he now meditated, excited his new subjects to revolt, and put his generals and governors of provinces upon displaying their injustice, insolence, and avarice. In short, the whole empire was in commotion, and ripe for rebellion. Olympias and Cleopatra, leaguings against Antipater, had seized his hereditary dominions, and divided them between them. Olympias took Epirus, and Cleopatra, Macedonia. The tidings of which being brought to Alexander, he said his mother had considered right: for the Macedonians would never bear to be governed by a woman.

In consequence of this unsettled state of things, he sent Nearchus again to sea, having determined to carry the war into the maritime provinces. Meantime he marched in person to chastise his lieutenants for their misdemeanours. Oxyartes, one of the sons of Abulites, he killed with his own hand, by a stroke of his javelin. Abulites had laid in no provisions for him; he had only collected 3000 talents in money. Upon his presenting this, Alexander bade him offer it to his horses: and, as they did not touch it, he said, "Of what use will this provision now be to me?" and immediately ordered Abulites to be taken into custody.

The first thing he did after he entered Persia, was to give this money to the matrons, according to the ancient custom of the kings, who, upon their return, from any excursion, to their Persian dominions, used to give every woman a piece of gold. For this reason, several of them, we are told, made it a rule to return but seldom; and Ochus never did: he banished himself to save his money. Having found the tomb of Cyrus broke open, he put the author of that sacrilege to death, though a native of Pella, and a person of some distinction. His name

was Polymachus. After he had read the epitaph, which was in the Persian language, he ordered it to be inscribed also in Greek. It was as follows : O MAN ! WHOSOEVER THOU ART, AND WHENSOEVER THOU COMEST (FOR COME I KNOW THOU WILT), I AM CYRUS, THE FOUNDER OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE, ENVY ME NOT THE LITTLE EARTH THAT COVERS MY BODY. Alexander was much affected at these words, which placed before him in so strong a light the uncertainty and vicissitude of things.

It was here that Calanus, after having been disordered a little while with the cholic, desired to have his funeral pile erected. He approached it on horseback, offered up his prayers to heaven, poured the libations upon himself, cut off part of his hair,* and threw it on the fire ; and, before he ascended the pile, took leave of the Macedonians, desiring them to spend the day in jollity and drinking with the king ; " For I shall see him," said he, " in a little time at Babylon." So saying he stretched himself upon the pile, and covered himself up. Nor did he move at the approach of the flames, but remained in the same posture till he had finished his sacrifice, according to the custom of the sages of his country. Many years after, another Indian did the same before Augustus Cæsar at Athens, whose tomb is shown to this day, and called *the Indian's tomb*.

Alexander, as soon as he retired from the funeral pile, invited his friends and officers to supper, and, to give life to the carousal, promised that the man who drank most should be crowned for his victory. Promachus drank four measures of wine,† and carried off the crown, which was worth a talent, but survived it only three days. The rest of the guests, as Chares tells us, drank to such a degree, that forty-one of them lost their lives, the weather coming upon them extremely cold during their intoxication.

When he arrived at Susa, he married his friends to Persian ladies. He set them the example, by taking Statira, the daughter of Darius, to wife, and then distributed among his principal officers the virgins of highest quality. As for those Macedonians who had already married in Persia, he made a general entertainment in commemoration of their nuptials. It is said that no less than 9000 guests sat down, and yet he presented each with a golden cup for performing the libation. Everything else was conducted with the utmost magnificence ;

* As some of the hair used to be cut from the forehead of victims.

† About fourteen quarts.

he even paid off all their debts ; insomuch that the whole expense amounted to 9870 talents.

An officer, who had but one eye, named Antigenes, put himself upon the list of debtors, and produced a person who declared he was so much in his books. Alexander paid the money ; but afterwards discovering the fraud, in his anger forbade him the court, and took away his commission. There was no fault to be found with him as a soldier. He had distinguished himself in his youth under Philip, at the siege of Perinthus, where he was wounded in the eye with a dart shot from one of the engines ; and yet he would neither suffer it to be taken out, nor quit the field, till he had repulsed the enemy, and forced them to retire into the town. The poor wretch could not bear the disgrace he had now brought upon himself ; his grief and despair were so great that it was apprehended he would put an end to his own life. To prevent such a catastrophe, the king forgave him, and ordered him to keep the money.

The 30,000 boys, whom he left under proper masters, were now grown so much, and made so handsome an appearance ; and, what was of more importance, had gained such an activity and address in their exercises, that he was greatly delighted with them. But it was matter of uneasiness to the Macedonians : they were apprehensive that the king would have less regard for them. Therefore, when he gave the invalids their route to the sea, in order to their return, the whole army considered it as an injurious and oppressive measure : "He has availed himself," said they, "beyond all reason, of their services, and now he sends them back with disgrace, and turns them upon the hands of their country and their parents, in a very different condition from that in which he received them. Why does he not dismiss us all ? Why does not he reckon all the Macedonians incapable of service, now he has got this body of young dancers ! Let him go with them and conquer the world."

Alexander, incensed at this mutinous behaviour, loaded them with reproaches ; and ordering them off, took Persians for his guards, and filled up other offices with them. When they saw their king with these new attendants, and themselves rejected and spurned with dishonour, they were greatly humbled. They lamented their fate to each other, and were almost frantic with jealousy and anger. At last, coming to themselves, they repaired to the king's tent, without arms, in one thin garment only ; and with tears and lamentations delivered themselves up

to his vengeance : desiring he would treat them as ungrateful men deserved.

He was softened with their complaint, but would not appear to hearken to them. They stood two days and nights, bemoaning themselves in this manner, and calling for their dear master. The third day he came out to them : and when he saw their forlorn condition, he wept a long time. After a gentle rebuke for their misbehaviour, he condescended to converse with them in a free manner ; and such as were unfit for service he sent over with magnificent presents. At the same time he signified his pleasure to Antipater, that at all public diversions they should have the most honourable seats in the theatres, and wear chaplets of flowers there ; and that the children of those who had lost their lives in his service should have their fathers' pay continued to them.

When he came to Ecbatana in Media, and had despatched the most urgent affairs, he employed himself again in the celebration of games and other public solemnities ; for which purpose 3000 artificers, lately arrived from Greece, were very serviceable to him. But unfortunately Hephæstion fell sick of a fever in the midst of this festivity. As a young man and a soldier, he could not bear to be kept to strict diet ; and taking the opportunity to dine when his physician Glaucus was gone to the theatre, he ate a roasted fowl, and drank a flagon of wine made as cold as possible ; in consequence of which he grew worse, and died a few days after.

Alexander's grief on this occasion exceeded all bounds. He immediately ordered the horses and mules to be shorn, that they might have their share in the mourning, and with the same view pulled down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. The poor physician he crucified. He forbade the flute and all other music in his camp for a long time. This continued till he received an oracle from Jupiter Ammon, which enjoined him to revere Hephæstion, and sacrifice to him as a demi-god. After this he sought to relieve his sorrow by hunting, or rather by war ; for his game were men. In this expedition he conquered the Cussæans, and put all that were come to years of puberty to the sword. This he called a sacrifice to the *manes* of Hephæstion !

He designed to lay out 10,000 talents upon his tomb and the monumental ornaments, and that the workmanship, as well as the design, should exceed the expense, great as it was. He therefore desired to have Stosicrates for his architect, whose genius promised a happy boldness and grandeur in everything

that he planned. This was the man who had told him, some time before, that Mount Athos in Thrace was most capable of being cut into a human figure ; and that, if he had but his orders, he would convert it into a statue for him, the most lasting and conspicuous in the world ; a statue, which should have a city with 10,000 inhabitants in his left hand, and a river that flowed to the sea with a strong current in its right. He did not, however, embrace that proposal, though at that time he busied himself with his architects in contriving and laying out even more absurd and expensive designs.

As he was advancing towards Babylon, Nearchus, who was returned from his expedition on the ocean, and come up the Euphrates, declared, he had been applied to by some Chaldæans, who were strongly of opinion that Alexander should not enter Babylon. But he slighted the warning and continued his march. Upon his approach to the walls, he saw a great number of crows fighting, some of which fell down dead at his feet. Soon after this, being informed that Apollodorus, governor of Babylon, had sacrificed, in order to consult the gods concerning him, he sent for Pythagoras the diviner ; and as he did not deny the fact, asked him how the entrails of the victim appeared. Pythagoras answered, the liver was without a head. "A terrible presage, indeed !" said Alexander. He let Pythagoras go with impunity : but by this time he was sorry he had not listened to Nearchus. He lived mostly in his pavilion without the walls, and diverted himself with sailing up and down the Euphrates. For there had happened several other ill omens that much disturbed him. One of the largest and handsomest lions that was kept in Babylon, was attacked and kicked to death by an ass. One day he stripped for the refreshment of oil, and to play at ball : after the diversion was over, the young men who played with him, going to fetch his clothes, beheld a man sitting in profound silence on his throne, dressed in the royal robes, with the diadem upon his head. They demanded who he was, and it was a long time before he would answer. At last, coming to himself, he said, "My name is Dionysius, and I am a native of Messene. Upon a criminal process against me, I left the place, and embarked for Babylon. There I have been kept a long time in chains. But this day the god Serapis appeared to me, and broke my chains ; after which he conducted me hither, and ordered me to put on this robe and diadem, and sit here in silence."

After the man had thus explained himself, Alexander, by the advice of his soothsayers, put him to death. But the anguish of

his mind increased ; on one hand, he almost despaired of the succours of heaven, and on the other distrusted his friends. He was most afraid of Antipater and his sons ; one of which, named Iolaus, was his cup-bearer ; the other, named Cassander, was lately arrived from Macedonia ; and happening to see some barbarians prostrate themselves before the king, like a man accustomed only to the Grecian manners, and a stranger to such a sight, he burst out into a loud laugh. Alexander, enraged at the affront, seized him by the hair, and with both hands dashed his head against the wall. Cassander afterwards attempted to vindicate his father against his accusers ; which greatly irritated the king. "What is this talk of thine?" said he. "Dost thou think that men who had suffered no injury, would come so far to bring a false charge?" "Their coming so far," replied Cassander, "is an argument that the charge is false, because they are at a distance from those who are able to contradict them." At this Alexander smiled, and said, "These are some of Aristotle's sophisms, which make equally for either side of the question. But be assured I will make you repent it, if these men have had the least injustice done them."

This, and other menaces, left such a terror upon Cassander, and made so lasting an impression upon his mind, that many years after, when king of Macedon, and master of all Greece, as he was walking about at Delphi, and taking a view of the statues, the sudden sight of that of Alexander is said to have struck him with such horror that he trembled all over, and it was with difficulty he recovered of the giddiness it caused in his brain.

When Alexander had once given himself up to superstition, his mind was so preyed upon by vain fears and anxieties, that he turned the least incident, which was anything strange and out of the way, into a sign or a prodigy. The court swarmed with sacrificers, purifiers, and prognosticators ; they were all to be seen exercising their talents there. So true it is, that though the disbelief of religion, and contempt of things divine, is a great evil, yet superstition is a greater. For as water gains upon low grounds, so superstition prevails over a dejected mind, and fills it with fear and folly. This was entirely Alexander's case. However, upon the receipt of some oracles concerning Hepæstion, from the god he commonly consulted, he gave a truce to his sorrows, and employed himself in festive sacrifices and entertainments.

One day, after he had given Nearchus a sumptuous treat, he went, according to custom, to refresh himself in the bath, in

order to retire to rest. But in the meantime Medius came and invited him to take part in a carousal, and he could not deny him. There he drank all that night and the next day, till at last he found a fever coming upon him. It did not, however, seize him as he was drinking the cup of Hercules, nor did he find a sudden pain in his back, as if it had been pierced with a spear. These are circumstances invented by writers, who thought the catastrophe of so noble a tragedy should be something affecting and extraordinary. Aristobulus tells us, that in the rage of his fever, and the violence of his thirst, he took a draught of wine, which threw him into a frenzy, and that he died, the thirteenth of the month *Daesius, June*.

But in his journals the account of his sickness is as follows : "On the eighteenth of the month *Daesius*, finding the fever upon him, he lay in his bath-room. The next day, after he had bathed, he removed into his own chamber, and played many hours with Medius at dice. In the evening, he bathed again, and after having sacrificed to the gods, he ate his supper. In the night the fever returned. The twentieth he also bathed, and, after the customary sacrifice, sat in the bath-room, and diverted himself with hearing Nearchus tell the story of his voyage, and all that was most observable with respect to the ocean. The twenty-first was spent in the same manner. The fever increased, and he had a very bad night. The twenty-second, the fever was violent. He ordered his bed to be removed, and placed by the great bath. There he talked to his generals about the vacancies in his army, and desired they might be filled up with experienced officers. The twenty-fourth he was much worse. He chose, however, to be carried to assist at the sacrifice. He likewise gave orders, that the principal officers of the army should wait within the court, and the others keep watch all night without. The twenty-fifth, he removed to his palace, on the other side of the river, where he slept a little, but the fever did not abate ; and when his generals entered the room he was speechless. He continued so the day following. The Macedonians, by this time, thinking he was dead, came to the gates with great clamour, and threatened the great officers in such a manner, that they were forced to admit them, and suffer them all to pass unarmed by the bed-side. The twenty-seventh, Python and Seleucus were sent to the temple of Serapis, to inquire whether they should carry Alexander thither, and the deity ordered that they should not remove him. The twenty-eighth, in the evening, he died." These particulars are taken almost word for word from his diary.

There was no suspicion of poison at the time of his death ; but six years after (we are told) Olympias, upon some information, put a number of people to death, and ordered the remains of Iolas, who was supposed to have given him the draught, to be dug out of the grave. Those who say Aristotle advised Antipater to such a horrid deed, and furnished him with the poison he sent to Babylon, allege one Agnothemis as their author, who is pretended to have had the information from king Antigonus. They add, that the poison was a water of a cold and deadly quality,* which distils from a rock in the territory of Nonacris ; and that they receive it as they would do so many dew drops, and keep it in an ass's hoof ; its extreme coldness and acrimony being such that it makes its way through all other vessels. The generality, however, look upon the story of the poison as a mere fable ; and they have this strong argument in their favour, that though, on account of the disputes which the great officers were engaged in for many days, the body lay unembalmed in a sultry place, it had no sign of any such taint, but continued fresh and clear.

Roxana was now pregnant, and therefore had great attention paid her by the Macedonians. But being extremely jealous of Statira, she laid a snare for her by a forged letter, as from Alexander ; and having, by this means, got her into her power, she sacrificed both her and her sister, and threw their bodies into a well, which she filled up with earth. Perdicas was her accomplice in this murder. Indeed, he had now the principal power, which he exercised in the name of Aridaeus, whom he treated rather as a screen than as a king.

Aridæus was the son of Philip, by a courtesan named Philinna, a woman of low birth. His deficiency in understanding was the consequence of a distemper, in which neither nature nor accident had any share. For it is said, there was something amiable and great in him when a boy ; which Olympias perceiving, gave him potions that disturbed his brain.†

* Hence it was called the *Slygian water*. Nonacris was a city of Arcadia.

† Portraits of the same person, taken at different periods of life, though they differ greatly from each other, retain a resemblance upon the whole. And so it is in general with the characters of men. But Alexander seems to be an exception ; for nothing can admit of greater dissimilarity than that which entered into his disposition at different times, and in different circumstances. He was brave and pusillanimous, merciful and cruel, modest and vain, abstemious and luxurious, rational and superstitious, polite and overbearing, politic and imprudent. Nor were these changes casual or temporary ; the style of his character underwent a total revolution, and he

JULIUS CÆSAR.

WHEN Sylla had made himself master of Rome,* he endeavoured to bring Cæsar to repudiate Cornelia, daughter to Cinna, one of the late tyrants ; and finding he could not effect it either by hopes or fears,† he confiscated her dowry. Indeed, Cæsar, as a relation to Marius, was naturally an enemy to Sylla. Old Marius had married Julia, Cæsar's aunt, and therefore young Marius, the son he had by her, was Cæsar's cousin-german. At first Sylla, amidst the vast number of proscriptions that engaged his attention, overlooked this enemy ; but Cæsar, not content with escaping so, presented himself to the people as a candidate for the priesthood,‡ though he was not yet come to years of maturity. Sylla exerted his influence against him, and he miscarried. The dictator afterwards thought of having him taken off, and when some said there was no need to put such a boy to death, he answered that their sagacity was small if they did not in that boy see many Marius's.

This saying being reported to Cæsar, he concealed himself a long time, wandering up and down in the country of the Sabines. Amidst his movements from house to house he fell sick, and on that account was forced to be carried in a litter. The soldiers employed by Sylla to search those parts, and drag the proscribed persons from their retreats, one night fell in with him ; but Cornelius, who commanded there, was prevailed on by a bribe of two talents to let him go.

passed from virtue to vice in a regular and progressive manner. Munificence and pride were the only characteristics that never forsook him. If there were any vice of which he was incapable, it was avarice ; if any virtue, it was humility.

* Some imagine that the beginning of this life is lost ; but if they look back to the introduction to the Life of Alexander that notion will vanish.

† Cæsar would not make such a sacrifice to the dictator as Piso had done, who, at his command, divorced his wife Annia. Pompey, too, for the sake of Sylla's alliance, repudiated Antistia.

‡ Cæsar had the priesthood before Sylla was dictator. In the seventeenth year of his age, he broke his engagement to Cossutia, though she was of a consular and opulent family, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, by whose interest, and that of Marius, he was created *Flamen Dialis*, or Priest of Jupiter. Sylla, when absolute master of Rome, insisted on his divorcing Cornelia, and, upon his refusal, deprived him of that office.—SUTON. in *Julio*.

He then hastened to sea, and sailed to Bithynia, where he sought protection of Nicomedes the king. His stay, however, with him was not long. He re-embarked, and was taken near the isle of Pharmacusa by pirates, who were masters of that sea, and blocked up all the passages with a number of galleys and other vessels. They asked him only twenty talents for his ransom. He laughed at their demand, as the consequence of their not knowing him, and promised them fifty talents. To raise the money he despatched his people to different cities, and in the meantime remained with only one friend and two attendants among these Cilicians, who considered murder as a trifle. Cæsar, however, held them in great contempt, and used to send, whenever he went to sleep, and order them to keep silence. Thus he lived among them thirty-eight days, as if they had been his guards, rather than his keepers. Perfectly fearless and secure, he joined in their diversions, and took his exercises among them. He wrote poems and orations, and rehearsed them to the pirates; and when they expressed no admiration, he called them dunces and barbarians. Nay, he often threatened to crucify them. They were delighted with these freedoms, which they imputed to his frank and facetious vein. But as soon as the money was brought from Miletus, and he had recovered his liberty, he manned some vessels in the port of Miletus, in order to attack these corsairs. He found them still lying at anchor by the island, took most of them, together with the money, and imprisoned them at Pergamus. After which, he applied to Junius who then commanded in Asia, because to him, as prætor, it belonged to punish them. Junius having an eye upon the money, which was a considerable sum, demurred about the matter; and Cæsar, perceiving his intention, returned to Pergamus, and crucified all the prisoners, as he had often threatened to do at Pharmacusa, when they took him to be in jest.

When the power of Sylla came to be upon the decline, Cæsar's friends pressed him to return to Rome. But first he went to Rhodes, to study under Apollonius, the son of Molo,* who taught rhetoric there with great reputation, and was a man

* It should be *Apollonius Molo*, not Apollonius the son of Molo. According to Suetonius, Cæsar had studied under him at Rome before his adventure of the pirates. Thus far Dacier and Ruault; and other critics say the same. Yet Strabo (l. xiv. pp. 665, 660, 661) tells us, Molo and Apollonius were two different men. He affirms that they were both natives of Alabanda, a city of Caria; that they were both scholars of Menacles the Alabandian; and that they both professed the same art at

of irreproachable manners. Cicero also was one of his scholars. Cæsar is said to have had happy talents from nature for a public speaker, and he did not want an ambition to cultivate them; so that undoubtedly he was the second orator in Rome; and he might have been the first, had he not rather chosen the pre-eminence in arms. Thus he never rose to that pitch of eloquence to which his power would have brought him, being engaged in those wars and political intrigues which at last gained him the empire. Hence it was, that afterwards, in his *Annicato*, which he wrote in answer to a book of Cicero's, he desired his readers not to expect in the performance of a military man the style of a complete orator, who had bestowed all his time upon such studies.

Upon his return to Rome, he impeached Dolabella for misdemeanours in his government, and many cities of Greece supported the charge by their evidence. Dolabella was acquitted. Cæsar, however, in acknowledgment of the readiness Greece had shown to serve him, assisted her in her prosecution of Publius Antonius for corruption. The cause was brought before Marcus Lucullus, prætor of Macedonia; and Cæsar pleaded it in so powerful a manner, that the defendant was forced to appeal to the tribunes of the people; alleging, that he was not upon equal terms with the Greeks in Greece.

The eloquence he showed at Rome in defending persons impeached, gained him a considerable interest, and his engaging address and conversation carried the hearts of the people. For he had a condescension not to be expected from so young a man. At the same time, the freedom of his table and the magnificence of his expense gradually increased his power, and brought him into the administration. Those who envied him, imagined that his resources would soon fail, and therefore, at

Rhodes, though Molo went thither later than Apollonius. Cicero likewise seems to distinguish them, calling the one Molo, and the other Apollonius the Alabandian, especially in his first book *De Oratore*, where he introduces M. Antonius speaking of him thus: "For this one thing I always liked Apollonius the Alabandian; though he taught for money, he did not suffer any whom he thought incapable of making a figure as orators to lose their time and labour with him, but sent them home, exhorting them to apply themselves to that art for which they were, in his opinion, best qualified."

To solve this difficulty, we are willing to suppose, with Ruault, that there were two Molos, contemporaries: for the testimonies of Suetonius (in Cæsare, c. 4) and of Quintilian (Institut. l. xii. c. 6) that Cæsar and Cicero were pupils to Apollonius Molo, can never be overruled.

first, made light of his popularity, considerable as it was. But when it was grown to such a height that it was scarce possible to demolish it, and had a plain tendency to the ruin of the constitution, they found out, when it was too late, that no beginnings of things, however small, are to be neglected ; because continuance makes them great ; and the very contempt they are held in gives them opportunity to gain that strength which cannot be resisted.

Cicero seems to be the first who suspected something formidable from the flattering calm of Cæsar's political conduct, and saw deep and dangerous designs under the smiles of his benignity. "I perceive," said the orator, "an inclination for tyranny in all he projects and executes ; but on the other hand, when I see him adjusting his hair with so much exactness, and scratching his head with one finger, I can hardly think that such a man can conceive so vast and fatal a design as the destruction of the Roman commonwealth." This, however, was an observation made at a much later period than that we are upon.

The first proof he had of the affection of the people was when he obtained a tribuneship in the army before his competitor Caius Popilius. The second was more remarkable ; it was on occasion of his pronouncing from the rostrum the funeral oration of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius, in which he failed not to do justice to her virtue. At the same time he had the hardiness to produce the images of Marius, which had not been seen before during Sylla's administration ; Marius and all his adherents having been declared enemies to the state. Upon this some began to raise a clamour against Cæsar ; but they were soon silenced by the acclamations and plaudits of the people, expressing their admiration of his courage in bringing the honours of Marius again to light, after so long a suppression, and raising them, as it were, from the shades below.

It had long been the custom in Rome, for the aged women to have funeral panegyrics, but not the young. Cæsar first broke through it, by pronouncing one for his own wife, who died in her prime. This contributed to fix him in the affections of the people : they sympathised with him, and considered him as a man of great good-nature, and one who had the social duties at heart.

After the funeral of his wife, he went out quæstor into Spain with Antistius Veter the prætor, whom he honoured all his life after ; and when he came to be prætor himself, he acknowledged the favour by taking Veter's son for his quæstor. When

that commission was expired, he took Pompeia to his third wife ; having a daughter by his first wife Cornelia, whom he afterwards married to Pompey the Great.

Many people, who observed his prodigious expense, thought he was purchasing a short transient honour very dear, but, in fact, he was gaining the greatest things he could aspire to, at a small price. He is said to have been 1300 talents in debt before he got any public employment. When he had the superintendence of the Appian Road he laid out a great deal of his own money, and when ædile he not only exhibited 320 pair of gladiators, but in the other diversions of the theatre, in the processions and public tables, he far outshone the most ambitious that had gone before him. These things attached the people to him so strongly that everyone sought for new honours and employments, to recompense his generosity.

There were two factions in the state : that of Sylla, which was the strongest ; and that of Marius, which was in a broken and low condition. Cæsar's study was to raise and revive the latter. In pursuance of which intention, when his exhibitions, as ædile, were in the highest reputation, he caused new images of Marius to be privately made, together with a representation of his victories adorned with trophies, and one night placed them in the Capitol. Next morning these figures were seen glistening with gold, of the most exquisite workmanship, and bearing inscriptions which declared them the achievements of Marius against the Cimbri. The spectators were astonished at the boldness of the man who erected them ; nor was it difficult to know who he was. The report spread with the utmost rapidity, and the whole city assembled to see them. Some exclaimed that Cæsar plainly affected the tyranny, by openly producing those honours which the laws had condemned to darkness and oblivion. This, they said, was done to make a trial of the people, whom he had prepared by his caresses, whether they would suffer themselves to be entirely caught by his venal benefactions, and let him play upon them and make what innovations he pleased. On the other hand, the partisans of Marius encouraging each other, ran to the Capitol in vast numbers, and made it echo with their plaudits. Some of them even wept for joy at the sight of Marius's countenance. They bestowed the highest encomiums upon Cæsar, and declared he was the only relation worthy of that great man.

The senate was assembled on the occasion, and Lutatius Catulus, a man of the greatest reputation in Rome, rose and accused Cæsar. In his speech against him was this memorable

expression, "You no longer attack the commonwealth by mines, but by open battery." Cæsar, however, defended his cause so well that the senate gave it for him : and his admirers, still more elated, desired him to keep up a spirit of enterprise, for he might gain everything with the consent of the people, and easily become the first man in Rome.

Amidst these transactions died Metellus, the principal pontiff. The office was solicited by Isauricus and Catulus, two of the most illustrious men in Rome, and of the greatest interest in the senate. Nevertheless, Cæsar did not give place to them, but presented himself to the people as a candidate. The pretensions and prospects of the competitors seemed almost equal, and Catulus, more uneasy than the others under the uncertainty of success, on account of his superior dignity, sent privately to Cæsar, and offered him large sums, on condition that he would desist from his high pursuit. But he answered, he would rather borrow still larger sums to carry his election.

When the day of election came, Cæsar's mother attending him to the door, with her eyes bathed in tears, he embraced her and said, "My dear mother, you will see me this day either chief pontiff or an exile." There never was anything more strongly contested ; the suffrages, however, gave it for Cæsar. The senate, and others of the principal citizens, were greatly alarmed at this success ; they apprehended that he would now push the people into all manner of licentiousness and misrule. Therefore, Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero much for sparing Cæsar, when Catiline's conspiracy gave him an opportunity to take him off. Catiline, whose intention was not so much to make alterations in the constitution, as entirely to subvert it, and throw all into confusion, upon some slight suspicions appearing against him, quitted Rome before the whole was unravelled ; but he left behind him Lentulus and Cethegus to conduct the conspiracy within the city.

Whether Cæsar privately encouraged and supported them is uncertain ; what is universally agreed upon is this : The guilt of those two conspirators clearly appearing, Cicero, as consul, took the sense of the senators as to the punishment that should be inflicted upon them ; and they all gave it for death, till it came to Cæsar's turn, who, in a studied speech, represented that it seemed neither agreeable to justice, nor to the customs of their country, to put men of their birth and dignity to death without an open trial, except in case of extreme necessity. But that they should rather be kept in prison, in any of the cities of Italy that Cicero might pitch upon, till Catiline was subdued ;

and then the senate might take cognizance of the crimes of each conspirator in full peace, and at their leisure.

As there appeared something humane in this opinion, and it was powerfully enforced by the orator, those who gave their voices afterwards, and even many who had declared for the other side of the question, came into it. But Cato and Catulus carried it for death. Cato, in a severe speech against the opinion of Cæsar, scrupled not to declare his suspicions of him ; and this, with other arguments, had so much weight that the two conspirators were delivered to the executioner. Nay, as Cæsar was going out of the senate house, several of the young men who guarded Cicero's person ran upon him with their drawn swords ; but we are told that Curio covered him with his gown, and so carried him off ; and that Cicero himself, when the young men looked at him for a nod of consent, refused it, either out of fear of the people, or because he thought the killing him unjust and unlawful. If this was true, I know not why Cicero did not mention it in the history of his consulship. He was blamed, however, afterwards, for not availing himself of so good an opportunity as he then had, and for being influenced by his fears of the people, who were indeed strongly attached to Cæsar : for, a few days after, when Cæsar entered the senate, and endeavoured to clear himself of the suspicions he lay under, his defence was received with indignation and loud reproaches ; and as they sat longer than usual, the people beset the house, and with violent outcries demanded Cæsar, absolutely insisting on his being dismissed.

Cato, therefore, fearing an insurrection of the indigent populace, who were foremost in all seditions, and who had fixed their hopes upon Cæsar, persuaded the senate to order a distribution of bread-corn among them every month, which added 5,500,000 *drachmas* to the yearly expense of the state.* This expedient certainly obviated the present danger, by seasonably reducing the power of Cæsar, who was now prætor elect, and more formidable on that account.

Cæsar's prætorship was not productive of any trouble to the commonwealth, but that year there happened a disagreeable event in his own family. There was a young patrician, named Publius Clodius, of great fortune and distinguished eloquence, but at the same time one of the foremost among the vicious and the profligate. This man entertained a passion for Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, nor did she discountenance it. But the women's apartment was so narrowly observed, and all the steps of

* But this distribution did not continue long.

Pompeia so much attended to by Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, who was a woman of great virtue and prudence, that it was difficult and hazardous for them to have an interview.

Among the goddesses the Romans worship there is one they call *Bona Dea*, the good goddess, as the Greeks have one they call *Gynæcea*, the patroness of the women. The Phrygians claim her as the mother of their king Midas ; the Romans say she was a Dryad, and wife of Faunus ; and the Greeks assure us she is that mother of Bacchus, whose name is not to be uttered. For this reason, the women, when they keep her festival, cover their tents with vine branches ; and, according to the fable, a sacred dragon lies at the feet of the goddess. No man is allowed to be present, nor even to be in the house, at the celebration of her orgies. Many of the ceremonies the women then perform by themselves are said to be like those in the feasts of Orpheus.

When the anniversary of the festival comes, the consul or præter (for it is at the house of one of them it is kept) goes out, and not a male is left in it. The wife, now having the house to herself, decorates it in a proper manner ; the mysteries are performed in the night ; and the whole is spent in music and play. Pompeia this year was the directress of the feast. Clodius, who was yet a beardless youth, thought he might pass in women's apparel undiscovered, and having taken the garb and instruments of a female musician, perfectly resembled one. He found the door open, and was safely introduced by a maid-servant who knew the affair. She ran before to tell Pompeia : and as she stayed a considerable time, Clodius durst not remain where she left him, but wandering about the great house, endeavoured to avoid the lights. At last, Aurelia's woman fell in with him, and supposing she spoke to a woman, challenged him to play. Upon his refusing it, she drew him into the midst of the room, and asked him who he was, and whence he came. He said he waited for Abra, Pompeia's maid, for that was her name. His voice immediately detected him : Aurelia's woman ran up to the lights and the company, crying out she had found a man in the house. The thing struck them all with terror and astonishment. Aurelia put a stop to the ceremonies, and covered up the symbols of their mysterious worship. She ordered the doors to be made fast, and with lighted torches hunted up and down for the man.

At length Clodius was found lurking in the chamber of the maid-servant who had introduced him. The women knew him, and turned him out of the house ; after which they went home

immediately, though it was yet night, and informed their husbands of what had happened.

Next morning the report of the sacrilegious attempt spread through all Rome, and nothing was talked of but that Clodius ought to make satisfaction with his life to the family he had offended, as well as to the city and to the gods. One of the tribunes impeached him of impiety ; and the principal senators strengthened the charge by accusing him to his face of many villainous debaucheries, and among the rest, of incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus. On the other hand, the people exerted themselves with equal vigour in his defence, and the great influence the fear of them had upon his judges was of much service to his cause. Cæsar immediately divorced Pompeia ; yet, when called as an evidence on the trial, he declared he knew nothing of what was alleged against Clodius. As this declaration appeared somewhat strange, the accuser demanded why, if that was the case, he had divorced his wife—"Because," said he, "I would have the chastity of my wife clear even of suspicion." Some say Cæsar's evidence was according to his conscience ; others, that he gave it to oblige the people, who were set upon saving Clodius. Be that as it might, Clodius came off clear : most of the judges having confounded the letters upon the tablets, that they might neither expose themselves to the resentment of the plebians if they condemned him, nor lose their credit with the patricians if they acquitted him.

The government of Spain was allotted Cæsar after his prætorship.* But his circumstances were so indifferent, and his creditors so clamorous and troublesome when he was preparing for his departure, that he was forced to apply to Crassus, the richest man in Rome, who stood in need of Cæsar's warmth and vigour to keep up the balance against Pompey. Crassus, therefore, took upon him to answer the most inexorable of his creditors, and engaged for 830 talents ; which procured him liberty to set out for his province.

It is said that when he came to a little town in passing the Alps, his friends, by way of mirth, took occasion to say, "Can there here be any disputes for offices, any contentions for precedence, or such envy and ambition as we see among the great?" To which Cæsar answered, with great seriousness, "I assure you I had rather be the first man here than the second man in Rome."

* It was the government of the farther Spain only that fell to his lot. This province comprehended Lusitania and Bætica ; that is, Portugal and Andalusia.

In like manner we are told that when he was in Spain he bestowed some leisure hours on reading part of the history of Alexander, and was so much affected with it that he sat pensive a long time, and at last burst out into tears. As his friends were wondering what might be the reason, he said, "Do you think I have not sufficient cause for concern when Alexander at my age reigned over so many conquered countries, and I have not one glorious achievement to boast?"

From this principle it was that immediately upon his arrival in Spain he applied to business with great diligence, and having added ten new-raised cohorts to the twenty he received there, he marched against the Callæcians and Lusitanians, defeated them, and penetrated to the ocean, reducing nations by the way that had not felt the Roman yoke. His conduct in peace was not inferior to that in the war; he restored harmony among the cities, and removed the occasions of quarrel between debtors and creditors. For he ordered that the creditors should have two-thirds of the debtor's income, and the debtor the remaining third, till the whole was paid. By these means he left the province with great reputation, though he had filled his own coffers, and enriched his soldiers with booty, who, upon one of his victories, saluted him *Imperator*.

At his return he found himself under a troublesome dilemma: those that solicit a triumph being obliged to remain without the walls, and such as sue for the consulship, to make their personal appearance in Rome. As these were things that he could not reconcile, and his arrival happened at the time of the election of consuls, he applied to the senate for permission to stand candidate, though absent, and offer his service by his friends. Cato strongly opposed his request, insisting on the prohibition by law; and when he saw numbers influenced by Cæsar, he attempted to prevent his success by gaining time; with which view he spun out the debate till it was too late to conclude upon anything that day. Cæsar then determined to give up the triumph, and solicit the consulship.

As soon as he had entered the city, he went to work upon an expedient which deceived all the world except Cato. It was the reconciling of Pompey and Crassus, two of the most powerful men in Rome. By making them friends, Cæsar secured the interest of both to himself, and while he seemed to be only doing an office of humanity, he was undermining the constitution. For it was not, what most people imagine, the disagreement between Cæsar and Pompey that produced the civil wars, but rather their union: they first combined to ruin the authority

of the senate, and when that was effected, they parted to pursue each his own designs. Cato, who often prophesied what would be the consequence, was then looked upon as a troublesome and over-busy man ; afterwards he was esteemed a wise, though not a fortunate counsellor.

Meantime Cæsar walked to the place of election between Crassus and Pompey ; and, under the auspices of their friendship, was declared consul, with distinguished honour, having Calpurnius Bibulus given him for his colleague. He had no sooner entered upon his office than he proposed laws not so suitable to a consul as to a seditious tribune ; I mean the bills for a division of lands and a distribution of corn, which were entirely calculated to please the plebians. As the virtuous and patriotic part of the senate opposed them, he was furnished with the pretext he had long wanted : he protested with great warmth that they threw him into the arms of the people against his will, and that the rigorous and disgraceful opposition of the senate laid him under the disagreeable necessity of seeking protection from the commons. Accordingly he did immediately apply to them.

Crassus planted himself on one side of him, and Pompey on the other. He demanded of them aloud whether they approved his laws, and, as they answered in the affirmative, he desired their assistance against those who threatened to oppose them with the sword. They declared they would assist him ; and Pompey added, "Against those who come with the sword, I will bring both sword and buckler." This expression gave the patricians great pain : it appeared not only unworthy of his character, the respect the senate had for him, and the reverence due to them, but even desperate and frantic. The people, however, were pleased with it.

Cæsar was willing to avail himself still farther of Pompey's interest. His daughter Julia was betrothed to Servilius Cæpio, but, notwithstanding that engagement, he gave her to Pompey ; and told Servilius he should have Pompey's daughter, whose hand was not properly at liberty, for she was promised to Faustus, the son of Sylla. Soon after this Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, and procured the consulship of Piso for the year ensuing. Meanwhile Cato exclaimed loudly against these proceedings, and called both gods and men to witness, how insupportable it was that the first dignities of the state should be prostituted by marriages, and that this traffic of women should gain them what governments and forces they pleased.

As for Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague, when he found his opposition to their new laws entirely unsuccessful, and that his life, as well as Cato's, was often endangered in the public assemblies, he shut himself up in his own house during the remainder of the year.

Immediately after this marriage, Pompey filled the *forum* with armed men, and got the laws enacted which Cæsar had proposed merely to ingratiate himself with the people. At the same time the government of Gaul, both on this and the other side the Alps, was decreed to Cæsar for five years ; to which was added Illyricum, with four legions. As Cato spoke against these regulations, Cæsar ordered him to be taken into custody, imagining he would appeal to the tribunes. But when he saw him going to prison without speaking one word, and observed that it not only gave the nobility great uneasiness, but that the people, out of reverence for Cato's virtue, followed him in melancholy silence, he whispered one of the tribunes to take him out of the *lictor's* hands.

Very few of the body of senators followed Cæsar on this occasion to the house. The greatest part, offended at such acts of tyranny, had withdrawn. Considius, one of the oldest senators that attended, taking occasion to observe that it was the soldiers and naked swords that kept the rest from assembling, Cæsar said, "Why does not fear keep you at home too?" Considius replied, "Old age is my defence ; the small remains of my life deserve not much care or precaution."

The most disgraceful step, however, that Cæsar took in his whole consulship, was the getting Clodius elected tribune of the people ; the same who had attempted to dishonour his bed, and had profaned the mysterious rites of the Good Goddess. He pitched upon him to ruin Cicero ; nor would he set out for his government before he had embroiled them, and procured Cicero's banishment. For history informs us that all these transactions preceded his wars in Gaul. The wars he conducted there, and the many glorious campaigns in which he reduced that country, represent him as another man : we begin, as it were, with a new life, and have to follow him in a quite different track. As a warrior and a general, we behold him not in the least inferior to the greatest and most admired commanders the world ever produced. For whether we compare him with the Fabii, the Scipios, and Metelli, with the generals of his own time, or those who flourished a little before him, with Sylla, Marius, the two Luculli, or with Pompey himself, whose fame in every military excellence reached the skies, Cæsar's achieve-

ments bear away the palm. One he surpassed in the difficulty of the scene of action, another in the extent of the countries he subdued ; this, in the number and strength of the enemies he overcame, that, in the savage manners and treacherous disposition of the people he humanised ; one, in mildness and clemency to his prisoners, another, in bounty and munificence to his troops ; and all, in the number of battles that he won, and enemies that he killed. For in less than ten years' war in Gaul, he took 800 cities by assault, conquered 300 nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with 3,000,000 of men, 1,000,000 of which he cut in pieces, and made another 1,000,000 prisoners.

Such, moreover, was the affection of his soldiers, and their attachment to his person, that they who under other commanders were nothing above the common rate of men, became invincible where Cæsar's glory was concerned, and met the most dreadful dangers with a courage that nothing could resist. To give three or four instances :—

Acilius, in a sea-fight near Marseilles, after he had boarded one of the enemy's ships, had his right hand cut off with a sword, yet he still held his buckler in his left, and pushed it in the enemy's faces, till he defeated them, and took the vessel.

Cassius Scæva, in the battle of Dyrrhachium, after he had an eye shot out with an arrow, his shoulder wounded with one javelin, his thigh run through with another, and had received 130 darts upon his shield,* called out to the enemy, as if he would surrender himself. Upon this two of them came up to him, and he gave one of them such a stroke upon the shoulder with his sword that the arm dropped off ; the other he wounded in the face, and made him retire. His comrades then came up to his assistance, and he saved his life.

In Britain some of the vanguard happened to be entangled in a deep morass, and were there attacked by the enemy, when a private soldier, in the sight of Cæsar, threw himself into the midst of the assailants, and, after prodigious exertions of valour, beat off the barbarians, and rescued the men. After which, the soldier, with much difficulty, partly by swimming, partly by wading, passed the morass, but in the passage lost his shield. Cæsar, and those about him, astonished at the action, ran to

* Cæsar (*Bell. Civ.* l. iii.) says this brave soldier received 230 darts upon his shield, and adds, that he rewarded his bravery with 200,000 sesterces, and promoted him from the eighth rank to the first. He likewise ordered the soldiers of that cohort double pay, besides other military rewards.

meet him with acclamations of joy ; but the soldier, in great distress, threw himself at Cæsar's feet, and, with tears in his eyes, begged pardon for the loss of his shield.

In Africa, Scipio having taken one of Cæsar's ships, on board of which was Granius Petronius, lately appointed quæster, put the rest to the sword, but told the quæster he gave him his life. Petronius answered, "It is not the custom of Cæsar's soldiers to take, but to give quarter," and immediately plunged his sword in his breast.

This courage and this great ambition were cultivated and cherished in the first place by the generous manner in which Cæsar rewarded his troops, and the honours which he paid them : for his whole conduct showed that he did not accumulate riches in the course of his wars, to minister to luxury, or to serve any pleasures of his own ; but that he laid them up in a common bank as prizes to be obtained by distinguished valour, and that he considered himself no farther rich than as he was in a condition to do justice to the merit of his soldiers. Another thing that contributed to make them invincible was their seeing Cæsar always take his share in danger, and never desire any exemption from labour and fatigue.

As for his exposing his person to danger, they were not surprised at it, because they knew his passion for glory ; but they were astonished at his patience under toil, so far in all appearance above his bodily powers. For he was of a slender make, fair, of a delicate constitution, and subject to violent headaches and epileptic fits. He had the first attack of the falling sickness at Corduba. He did not, however, make these disorders a pretence for indulging himself. On the contrary, he sought in war a remedy for his infirmities, endeavouring to strengthen his constitution by long marches, by simple diet, by seldom coming under covert. Thus he contended with his distemper, and fortified himself against its attacks.

When he slept, it was commonly upon a march, either in a chariot or a litter, that rest might be no hindrance to business. In the day time he visited the castles, cities, and fortified camps, with a servant at his side, whom he employed on such occasions to write for him, and with a soldier behind, who carried his sword. By these means he travelled so fast, and with so little interruption, as to reach the Rhone in eight days after his first setting out for those parts from Rome.

He was a good horseman in his early years, and brought that exercise to such perfection by practice that he could sit a horse at full speed with his hands behind him. In this expedition he

also accustomed himself to dictate letters as he rode on horse-back, and found sufficient employment for two secretaries at once, or, according to Oppius, for more. It is also said that Cæsar was the first who contrived to communicate his thoughts by letter to his friends, who were in the same city with him, when any urgent affair required it, and the multitude of business or great extent of the city did not admit of an interview.

Of his indifference with respect to diet they give us this remarkable proof. Happening to sup with Valerius Leo, a friend of his at Milan, there was sweet ointment poured upon the asparagus instead of oil. Cæsar ate of it freely, notwithstanding, and afterwards rebuked his friends for expressing their dislike of it. "It was enough," said he, "to forbear eating, if it was disagreeable to you. He who finds fault with any rusticity is himself a rustic."

One day, as he was upon an excursion, a violent storm forced him to seek shelter in a poor man's hut, where there was only one room, and that scarce big enough for a man to sleep in. Turning, therefore, to his friends, he said, "Honours for the great, and necessaries for the infirm," and immediately gave up the room to Oppius, while himself and the rest of the company slept under a shed at the door.

His first expedition in Gaul was against the Helvetians and the Tigurini; who, after having burned twelve of their own towns and 400 villages, put themselves under march, in order to penetrate into Italy, through that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutones would have done before them. Nor were these new adventurers inferior to the other in courage; and in numbers they were equal; being in all 300,000, of which 190,000 were fighting men. Cæsar sent his lieutenant, Labienus, against the Tigurini, who routed them near the river Arar.* But the Helvetians suddenly attacked Cæsar, as he was upon the march to a confederate town.† He gained, however, a strong post for his troops, notwithstanding the surprise; and when he had drawn them up, his horse was brought him. Upon which he said, "When I have won the battle I shall want my horse for the pursuit; at present, let us

* Cæsar says himself, that he left Labienus to guard the works he had raised from the lake of Geneva to Mount Jura, and that he marched in person, at the head of three legions, to attack the Tigurini in their passage over the Arar, now the Saone, and killed great numbers of them.

† Bibracte, now Autun.

march as we are against the enemy." Accordingly he charged them with great vigour on foot.*

It cost him a long and severe conflict to drive their army out of the field ; but he found the greatest difficulty when he came to their rampart of carriages ; for not only the men made a most obstinate stand there, but the very women and children fought till they were cut in pieces ; insomuch that the battle did not end before midnight.

To this great action he added a still greater. He collected the barbarians who had escaped out of the battle, to the number of 100,000, and upwards, and obliged them to resettle in the country they had relinquished, and to rebuild the cities they had burned. This he did, in fear that if the country were left without inhabitants, the Germans would pass the Rhine, and seize it.

His second war was in defence of the Gauls against the Germans,† though he had before honoured their king Ariovistus with the title of an ally of Rome. They proved insupportable neighbours to those he had subdued, and it was easy to see, that instead of being satisfied with their present acquisitions, if opportunity offered, they would extend their conquests over all Gaul. He found, however, his officers, particularly those of the young nobility, afraid of this expedition ; for they had entered into Cæsar's service only in the hopes of living luxuriously and making their fortunes. He therefore called them together, and told them, before the whole army, that they were at liberty to retire, and needed not hazard their persons against their inclination, since they were so unmanly and spiritless. For his part, he would march with the tenth legion only against those barbarians ; for they were neither better men than the Cimbrians, nor was he a worse general than Marius. Upon this, the tenth legion deputed some of their corps to thank him. The other legions laid the whole blame upon their officers, and all followed him with great spirit and alacrity. After a march

* He sent back his horse and the rest followed his example. This he did to prevent all hopes of a retreat, as well as to show his troops that he would take his share in all the danger.—*Vide. Bell. Gall. lib. i.*

† The Ædui implored his protection against Ariovistus, king of the Germans, who, taking advantage of the difference which had long subsisted between them and the Arverni, had joined the latter, made himself master of great part of the country of the Sequani, and obliged the Ædui to give him their children as hostages. The Ædui were the people of Autun ; the Arverni of Auvergne ; and the Sequani of Franche Comte.—*Cæs. Bell. Gall. lib. i.*

of several days, they encamped within 200 furlongs of the enemy.

Cæsar's arrival broke the confidence of Ariovistus. Instead of expecting that the Romans would come and attack him, he had supposed they would not dare to stand the Germans when they went in quest of them. He was much surprised, therefore, at this bold attempt of Cæsar, and, what was worse, he saw his own troops were disheartened. They were dispirited still more by the prophecies of their matrons, who had the care of divining, and used to do it by the eddies of rivers, the windings, the murmurs, or other noise made by the stream. On this occasion they charged the army not to give battle before the new moon appeared.

Cæsar having got information of these matters, and seeing the Germans lie close in their camp, thought it better to engage them while thus dejected, than to sit still and wait their time. For this reason he attacked their entrenchments and the hills upon which they were posted; which provoked them to such a degree, that they descended in great fury to the plain. They fought, and were entirely routed. Cæsar pursued them to the Rhine, which was 300 furlongs from the field of battle, covering all the way with dead bodies and spoils. Ariovistus reached the river time enough to get over with a few troops. The number of killed is said to have amounted to 80,000.

After he had thus terminated the war, he left his army in winter quarters in the country of the Sequani, and repaired to Gaul, on this side the Po, which was part of his province, in order to have an eye upon the transactions in Rome. For the river Rubicon parts the rest of Italy from Cisalpine Gaul. During his stay there he carried on a variety of state intrigues. Great numbers came from Rome to pay their respects to him, and he sent them all away satisfied: some laden with presents, and others happy in hope. In the same manner throughout all his wars, without Pompey's observing it, he was conquering his enemies by the arms of the Roman citizens, and gaining the citizens by the money of his enemies.

As soon as he had intelligence that the Belgæ, who were the most powerful people in Gaul, and whose territories made up a third part of the whole country, had revolted and assembled a great army, he marched to that quarter with incredible expedition. He found them ravaging the lands of those Gauls who were allies of Rome, defeated the main body, which made but a feeble resistance, and killed such numbers, that lakes and rivers were filled with the dead, and bridges were formed of their

bodies. Such of the insurgents as dwelt upon the sea coast, surrendered without opposition.

From thence he led his army against the Nervii,* who live among thick woods. After they had secured their families and most valuable goods, in the best manner they could, in the heart of a large forest, at a great distance from the enemy, they marched, to the number of 60,000, and fell upon Cæsar, as he was fortifying his camp, and had not the least notion of such an attack.† They first routed his cavalry, and then surrounded the twelfth and seventh legions, and killed all the officers. Had not Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of his own men, forced his way through the combatants before him, and rushed upon the barbarians; or had not the tenth legion, seeing his danger, run from the heights where they were posted, and mowed down the enemy's ranks, in all probability not one Roman would have survived the battle. But though, encouraged by this bold act of Cæsar, they fought with a spirit above their strength, they were not able to make the Nervii turn their backs. Those brave men maintained their ground, and were hewed to pieces upon the spot. It is said that out of 60,000 not above 500 were saved, and out of 400 Nervian senators not above three.

Upon the news of this great victory, the senate of Rome decreed that sacrifices should be offered, and all manner of festivities kept up, for fifteen days together, which was a longer term of rejoicing than had ever been known before. Indeed, the danger appeared very great, on account of so many nations

* Their country is now called Hainault and Cambresis.

† As this attack was unexpected, Cæsar had, in a manner, everything to do at the same instant. The banner was to be erected, the charge sounded, the soldiers at a distance recalled, the army drawn up, and the signal given. In this surprise he ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour; and having drawn them up in the best manner he could, caused the signal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous resistance; but as the enemy seemed determined either to conquer or die, the success was different in different places. In the left wing the ninth and the tenth legions did wonders, drove the Atrebatas into a neighbouring river, and made a great slaughter of them. In another place the eight and eleventh legions repulsed the Vermandui, and drove them before them. But in the right wing the seventh and twelfth legions suffered extremely. They were entirely surrounded by the Nervii, all the centurions of the fourth cohort being slain, and most of the other officers wounded. In this extremity, Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of the private men, put himself at the head of his broken wing, and being joined by the two legions which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon the Nervii, already fatigued, with fresh vigour, and made a dreadful havoc of them.

rising at once ; and as Cæsar was the man who surmounted it, the affection the people had for him made the rejoicing more brilliant. After he had settled the affairs of Gaul, on the other side the Alps, he crossed them again, and wintered near the Po, in order to maintain his interest in Rome ; where the candidates for the great offices of state were supplied with money out of his funds to corrupt the people, and after they had carried their election, did everything to extend his power. Nay, the greatest and most illustrious personages went to pay their court to him at Lucca, among whom were Pompey, Crassus, Appius, governor of Sardinia, and Nepos, proconsul in Spain. So that there were 120 lictors attending their masters, and above 200 senators honoured him with their assiduities. After they had fixed upon a plan of business, they parted. Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls the year ensuing, and to get Cæsar's government prolonged for five years more, with supplies out of the treasury for his occasions. The last particular appeared extremely absurd to all men of sense. They who received so much of Cæsar's money persuaded the senate to give him money, as if he was in want of it ; or rather, they insisted it should be done, and every honest man sighed inwardly while he suffered the decree to pass. Cato, indeed, was absent, having been sent with a commission to Cyprus on purpose that he might be out of the way. But Favonius, who trod in Cato's steps, vigorously opposed those measures ; and when he found that his opposition availed nothing, he left the house, and applied to the people, exclaiming against such pernicious counsels. No one, however, attended to him ; some being overawed by Pompey and Crassus, and others influenced by regard for Cæsar, in whose smile alone they lived and all their hopes flourished.

Cæsar, at his return to his army in Gaul, found another furious war lighted up in the country ; the Usipetes and the Teuchteri,* two great German nations, having crossed the Rhine to make

* The people of the *March* and of Westphalia, and those of Munster and Cleves.

This war happened under the consulship of Crassus and Pompey, which was in the year of Rome 693. But there were several intermediate transactions of great importance, which Plutarch has omitted, --viz., The reduction of the *Advatci* by Cæsar ; of seven other nations by P. Crassus, the son of the triumvir ; offers of submission from several nations beyond the Rhine ; the attempt upon *Galba* in his winter quarters at *Octodurus*, and his brave defence and victory ; the severe chastisement of the *Veneti*, who had revolted ; and the complete reduction of *Aquitaine*. These particulars are contained in part of the second and the whole third book of the *War in Gaul*.

conquests. The account of the affair with them we shall take from Cæsar's own Commentaries. These barbarians sent deputies to him to propose a suspension of arms, which was granted them. Nevertheless they attacked him as he was making an excursion. With only 800 horse, however, who were not prepared for an engagement, he beat their cavalry, which consisted of 5000. Next day they sent other deputies to apologise for what had happened, but without any other intention than that of deceiving him again. These agents of theirs he detained, and marched immediately against them; thinking it absurd to stand upon honour with such perfidious men, who had not scrupled to violate the truce. Yet Canusius writes, that when the senate were voting a public thanksgiving and processions on account of the victory, Cato proposed that Cæsar should be delivered up to the barbarians, to expiate that breach of faith, and make the divine vengeance fall upon its author rather than upon Rome.

Of the barbarians that had passed the Rhine, there were 400,000 killed. The few who escaped, repassed the river, and were sheltered by a people of Germany called Sicambri. Cæsar laid hold on this pretence against that people, but his true motive was an avidity of fame, to be the first Roman that ever crossed the Rhine in a hostile manner. In pursuance of his design, he threw a bridge over it, though it was remarkably wide in that place, and at the same time so rough and rapid, that it carried down with it trunks of trees, and other timber, which much shocked and weakened the pillars of his bridge. But he drove great piles of wood into the bottom of the river above the bridge, both to resist the impression of such bodies, and to break the force of the torrent. By these means he exhibited a spectacle astonishing to thought, so immense a bridge finished in ten days. His army passed over it without opposition, the Suevi and the Sicambri, the most warlike nations in Germany, having retired into the heart of their forests, and concealed themselves in cavities overhung with wood. He laid waste the enemy's country with fire, and confirmed the better disposed Germans in the interest of Rome;* after which he returned into Gaul, having spent no more than eighteen days in Germany.

But his expedition into Britain discovered the most daring spirit of enterprise. For he was the first who entered the western ocean with a fleet, and embarking his troops on the

* The Ubii, the people of Cologne.

Atlantic, carried war into an island whose very existence was doubted. Some writers had represented it so incredibly large that others contested its being, and considered both the name and the thing as a fiction. Yet Cæsar attempted to conquer it, and to extend the Roman empire beyond the bounds of the habitable world. He sailed thither twice from the opposite coast in Gaul, and fought many battles, by which the Britons suffered more than the Romans gained ; for there was nothing worth taking from a people who were so poor, and lived in so much wretchedness.* He did not, however, terminate the war in the manner he could have wished : he only received hostages of the king, and appointed the tribute the island was to pay, and then returned to Gaul.

There he received letters, which were going to be sent over to him, and by which his friends in Rome informed him, that his daughter, the wife of Pompey, had lately died in childbed. This was a great affliction both to Pompey and Cæsar. Their friends, too, were very sensibly concerned to see that alliance dissolved which kept up the peace and harmony of the state, otherwise in a very unsettled condition. For the child survived the mother only a few days. The people took the body of Julia, and carried it, notwithstanding the prohibition of the tribunes, to the *Campus Martius*, where it was interred.

As Cæsar's army was now very large,† he was forced to divide it for the convenience of winter quarters ; after which he took the road to Italy, according to custom. But he had not been long gone, before the Gauls rising again, traversed the country with considerable armies, fell upon the Roman quarters with great fury, and insulted their entrenchments. The most numerous and the strongest body of the insurgents was that under Ambiorix, who attacked Cotta and Titurius in their camp, and cut them off with their whole party. After which, he went and besieged the legion under the command of Q. Cicero, with

* It does not appear that there was much corn in Britain in Cæsar's time ; for the inhabitants, he says, lived chiefly on milk and flesh. *Lacte et carne vivunt.*

† The army consisted of eight legions ; and as there was almost a famine in the country, the consequence of excessive drought, Cæsar was obliged to separate his troops for their better subsistence. He was therefore under the necessity of fixing the quarters at such a distance, which would otherwise have been impolitic. He tells us (lib. v.) that all the legions, except one, which was in a quiet country, were posted within the compass of 100 miles.

60,000 men; and though the spirit of those brave Romans made a resistance above their strength, they were very near being taken, for they were all wounded.

Cæsar, who was at a great distance, at last getting intelligence of their danger, returned with all expedition; and having collected a body of men, which did not exceed 7000, hastened to the relief of Cicero. The Gauls, who were not ignorant of his motions, raised the siege, and went to meet him; for they despised the smallness of his force, and were confident of victory. Cæsar, to deceive them, made a feint as if he fled, till he came to a place convenient for a small army to engage a great one, and there he fortified his camp. He gave his men strict orders not to fight, but to throw up a strong rampart, and to barricade their gates in the securest manner; contriving by all these manœuvres to increase the enemy's contempt of him. It succeeded as he wished; the Gauls came up with great insolence and disorder to attack his trenches. Then Cæsar making a sudden sally, defeated and destroyed the greatest part of them. This success laid the spirit of revolt in those parts; and for farther security he remained all the winter in Gaul, visiting all the quarters, and keeping a sharp eye upon every motion towards war. Besides, he received a reinforcement of three legions in the room of those he had lost; two of which were lent him by Pompey, and one lately raised in Cisalpine Gaul.

After this,* the seeds of hostilities, which had long before been privately scattered in the more distant parts of the country, by the chiefs of the more warlike nations, shot up into one of the greatest and most dangerous wars that was ever seen in Gaul; whether we consider the number of troops and store of arms, the treasures amassed for the war, or the strength of the towns and fastnesses they occupied. Besides, it was then the most severe season of the year; the rivers were covered with ice, the forests with snow, and the fields overflowed in such a manner that they looked like so many ponds; the roads lay concealed in snow; or in floods disembogued by the lakes and rivers. So that it seemed impossible for Cæsar to march, or to pursue any other operations against them.

Many nations had entered into the league; the principal of

* Plutarch passes over the whole sixth book of Cæsar's Commentaries, as he had done the third. Many considerable events happened between the victory last mentioned, and the affair with Vercingetorix; such as the defeat of the Treviri, Cæsar's second passage over the Rhine, and the pursuit of Ambiorix.

which were the Arverni* and Carnutes.† The chief direction of the war was given to Vercingetorix, whose father the Gauls had put to death, for attempting at monarchy. Vercingetorix having divided his forces into several parts, and given them in charge to his lieutenants, had the country at command as far as the Arar. His intention was to raise all Gaul against Cæsar, now when his enemies were rising against him at Rome. But had he stayed a little longer till Cæsar was actually engaged in the civil war, the terrors of the Gauls would not have been less dreadful to Italy now, than those of the Cimbria were formerly.

Cæsar, who knew perfectly how to avail himself of every advantage in war, particularly of time, was no sooner informed of this great defection, than he set out to chastise its authors; and by the swiftness of his march, in spite of all the difficulties of a severe winter, he showed the barbarians that his troops could neither be conquered nor resisted. For where a courier could scarce have been supposed to come in many days, Cæsar was seen with his whole army, ravaging the country, destroying the castles, storming the cities, and receiving the submission of such as repented. Thus he went on, till the Edui‡ also revolted, who had styled themselves brothers to the Romans, and had been treated with particular regard. Their joining the insurgents spread uneasiness and dismay throughout Cæsar's army. He, therefore, decamped in all haste, and traversed the country of the Lingones,§ in order to come into that of the Sequani,|| who were fast friends, and nearer to Italy than the rest of the Gauls.

The enemy followed him thither in prodigious numbers, and surrounded him. Cæsar, without being in the least disconcerted, sustained the conflict, and after a long and bloody action, in which the Germans were particularly serviceable to him, gave them a total defeat. But he seems to have received some check at first, for the Arverni still show a sword suspended in one of their temples, which they declare was taken from Cæsar. His friends pointed it out to him afterwards, but he only laughed; and when they were for having it taken down, he would not suffer it, because he considered it as a thing consecrated to the gods.

Most of those who escaped out of the battle retired into

* The people of Arvergne, particularly those of Clermont and St. Flour.

† The people of Chartres and Orleans.

‡ The people of Autun, Lyons, Macon, Chalons-upon-Sone, and Nevers.

§ The district of Langres.

|| The district of Besançon.

Alesia* with their king. Cæsar immediately invested the town, though it appeared impregnable, as well on account of the height of the walls, as the number of troops there was to defend it. During the siege he found himself exposed to a danger from without, which makes imagination giddy to think on. All the bravest men in Gaul assembled from every quarter, and came armed to the relief of the place, to the number of 300,000; and there were not less than 70,000 combatants within the walls. Thus shut up between two armies, he was forced to draw two lines of circumvallation, the interior one against the town, and that without against the troops that came to its succour; for, could the two armies have joined, he had been absolutely lost. This dangerous action at Alesia contributed to Cæsar's renown on many accounts. Indeed, he exerted a more adventurous courage and greater generalship than on any other occasion. But what seems very astonishing is, that he could engage and conquer so many myriads without, and keep the action a secret to the troops in the town.† It is still more wonderful that the Romans, who were left before the walls, should not know it, till the victory was announced by the cries of the men in Alesia and the lamentations of the women, who saw the Romans on each side of the town bringing to their camp a number of shields adorned with gold and silver, helmets stained with blood, drinking vessels, and tents of the Gaulish fashion. Thus did this vast multitude vanish and disappear like a phantom, or a dream, the greatest part being killed on the spot.

The besieged, after having given both themselves and Cæsar much trouble, at last surrendered. Their general, Vercingetorix, armed himself and equipped his horse in the most magnificent manner, and then sallied out at the gate. After he had taken some circuits about Cæsar as he sat upon the tribunal, he dismounted, put off his armour, and placed himself at Cæsar's feet, where he remained in profound silence, till Cæsar ordered a guard to take him away, and keep him for his triumph.

Cæsar had been some time resolved to ruin Pompey, and Pompey to destroy Cæsar. For Crassus, who alone could have taken up the conqueror, being killed in the Parthian war, there remained nothing for Cæsar to do, to make himself the greatest of mankind, but to annihilate him that was so; nor for Pompey to prevent it, but to take off the man he feared. It is true, it

* Cæsar calls it Alexia, now Alise, near Flavigny.

† Cæsar says, that those in the town had a distinct view of the battle.

was no long time that Pompey had entertained any fear of him ; he had rather looked upon him with contempt, imagining he could as easily pull him down as he had set him up : whereas Cæsar, from the first, designing to ruin his rivals, had retired at a distance, like a champion, for exercise. By long service and great achievements in the wars of Gaul, he had so improved his army, and his own reputation too, that he was considered as on a footing with Pompey ; and he found pretences for carrying his enterprise into execution, in the times of the misgovernment at Rome. These were partly furnished by Pompey himself : and indeed all ranks of men were so corrupted that tables were publicly set out, upon which the candidates for offices were professedly ready to pay the people the price of their votes ; and the people came not only to give their voices for the man who had bought them, but with all manner of offensive weapons to fight for him. Hence it often happened that they did not part without polluting the tribunal with blood and murder, and the city was a perpetual scene of anarchy. In this dismal situation of things, in these storms of epidemic madness, wise men thought it would be happy if they ended in nothing worse than monarchy. Nay, there were many who scrupled not to declare publicly, that monarchy was the only cure for the desperate disorders of the state, and that the physician ought to be pitched upon, who would apply that remedy with the gentlest hand : by which they hinted at Pompey.

Pompey, in all his discourse, pretended to decline the honour of a dictatorship, though at the same time every step he took was directed that way. Cato, understanding his drift, persuaded the senate to declare him sole consul ; that, satisfied with a kind of monarchy more agreeable to law, he might not adopt any violent measures to make himself dictator. The senate not only agreed to this, but continued to him his governments of Spain and Africa, the administration of which he committed to his lieutenants ; keeping armies there, for whose maintenance he was allowed 1000 talents a-year out of the public treasury.

Upon this, Cæsar applied, by his friends, for another consulship, and for the continuance of his commission in Gaul, answerable to that of Pompey. As Pompey was at first silent, Marcellus and Lentulus, who hated Cæsar on other accounts, opposed it with great violence, omitting nothing, whether right or wrong, that might reflect dishonour upon him. For they disfranchised the inhabitants of Novocomum in Gaul, which had lately been erected into a colony by Cæsar ; and Marcellus, then consul, caused one of their senators, who was come with

some complaints to Rome, to be beaten with rods, and telling him the marks on his back were so many additional proofs that he was not a Roman citizen, bade him go show them to Cæsar.

But after the consulship of Marcellus, Cæsar opened the treasures he had amassed in Gaul to all that were concerned in the administration, and satisfied their utmost wishes ; he paid off the vast debts of Curio the tribune ; he presented the consul Paulus with 1500 talents, which he employed in building the celebrated public hall near the *forum*, in the place where that of Fulvius had stood. Pompey, now alarmed at the increase of Cæsar's faction, openly exerted his own interest, and that of his friends, to procure an order for a successor to Cæsar in Gaul. He also sent to demand the troops he had lent him for his wars in that country, and Cæsar returned them with a gratuity of 250 drachmas to each man.

Those who conducted these troops back spread reports among the people which were neither favourable nor fair with respect to Cæsar, and which ruined Pompey with vain hopes. They asserted that Pompey had the hearts of all Cæsar's army, and that if envy and a corrupt administration hindered him from gaining what he desired at Rome, the forces in Gaul were at his service, and would declare for him immediately upon their entering Italy ; so obnoxious was Cæsar become, by hurrying them perpetually from one expedition to another, and by the suspicions they had of his aiming at absolute power.

Pompey was so much elated with these assurances that he neglected to levy troops, as if he had nothing to fear, and opposed his enemy only with speeches and decrees, which Cæsar made no account of. Nay, we are told that a centurion whom Cæsar had sent to Rome, waiting at the door of the senate-house for the result of the deliberations, and being informed that the senate would not give Cæsar a longer term in his commission, laid his hand upon his sword, and said, "But this shall give it."

Indeed, Cæsar's requisitions had a great appearance of justice and honour. He proposed to lay down his arms, on condition Pompey would do the same, and that they should both, as private citizens, leave it to their country to reward their services: for to deprive him of his commission and troops, and continue Pompey's, was to give absolute power to the one, to which the other was unjustly accused of aspiring. Curio, who made these propositions to the people in behalf of Cæsar, was received with the loudest plaudits ; and there

were some who even threw chaplets of flowers upon him, as they would upon a champion victorious in the ring.

Antony, one of the tribunes of the people, then produced a letter from Cæsar to the same purport, and caused it to be read, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from the consuls. Hereupon, Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, proposed in the senate, that if Cæsar did not lay down his arms by such a day, he should be declared an enemy to the state; and the consuls putting it to the question, whether Pompey should dismiss his forces, and again, whether Cæsar should disband his, few of the members were for the first, and almost all for the second.* After which Antony put the question, whether both should lay down their commissions, and all with one voice answered in the affirmative. But the violent rage of Scipio, and the clamours of the consul Lentulus, who cried out, that not decrees but arms should be employed against a public robber, made the senate break up; and on account of the unhappy dissension, all ranks of people put on black, as in a time of public mourning.

Soon after this, other letters arrived from Cæsar with more moderate proposals. He offered to abandon all the rest, provided they would continue to him the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with two legions, till he could apply for a second consulship. And Cicero, who was lately returned from Cilicia, and very desirous of effecting a reconciliation, used all possible means to soften Pompey. Pompey agreed to all but the article of the two legions; and Cicero endeavoured to accommodate the matter, by persuading Cæsar's friends to be satisfied with the two provinces and 6000 soldiers only. Pompey was on the point of accepting the compromise, when Lentulus the consul, rejecting it with disdain, treated Antony and Curio with great indignity, and drove them out of the senate-house. Thus he furnished Cæsar with the most plausible argument imaginable, and he failed not to make use of it to exasperate his troops, by showing them persons of distinction, and magistrates, obliged to fly in hired carriages, and in the habit of slaves;† for their fears had made them leave Rome in that disguise.

Cæsar had not then with him above 300 horse and 5000 foot. The rest of his forces were left on the other side of the Alps,

* Dio says there was not a man for the first question, whereas the whole house was for the second, except Calpurnius and Curio. Nor is this to be wondered at; Pompey was then at the gates of Rome with his army.

† Cassius Longinus went with them in the same disguise.

and he had sent them orders to join him. But he saw the beginning of his enterprise, and the attack he meditated did not require any great numbers; his enemies were rather to be struck with consternation by the boldness and expedition with which he began his operations; for an unexpected movement would be more likely to make an impression upon them then, than great preparations afterwards. He, therefore, ordered his lieutenants and other officers to take their swords, without any other armour, and make themselves masters of Ariminum, a great city in Gaul, but to take all possible care that no blood should be shed or disturbance raised. Hortensius was at the head of this party. As for himself, he spent the day at a public show of gladiators; and a little before evening bathed, and then went into the apartment, where he entertained company. When it was growing dark, he left the company, after having desired them to make merry till his return, which they would not have long to wait for. To some of his friends he had given previous notice to follow him, not altogether, but by different ways. Then, taking a hired carriage, he set out a different way from that which led to Ariminum, and turned into that road afterwards.

When he arrived at the banks of the Rubicon, which divides Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, his reflections became more interesting in proportion as the danger grew near. Staggered by the greatness of his attempt, he stopped, to weigh with himself its inconveniences; and, as he stood revolving in silence the arguments on both sides, he many times changed his opinion. After which, he deliberated upon it with such of his friends as were by, among whom was Asinius Pollio: enumerating the calamities which the passage of that river would bring upon the world, and the reflections that might be made upon it by posterity. At last, upon some sudden impulse, bidding adieu to his reasonings, and plunging into the abyss of futurity, in the words of those who embark in doubtful and arduous enterprises, he cried out, "The die is cast!" and immediately passed the river. He travelled so fast the rest of the way, that he reached Ariminum before daylight, and took it. It is said, that the preceding night he had a most abominable dream; he thought he lay with his mother.

After the taking of Ariminum, as if war had opened wide its gates both by sea and land, and Cæsar, by going beyond the bounds of his province, had infringed the laws of his country; not individuals were seen, as on other occasions, wandering in distraction about Italy, but whole cities broken up, and seeking

refuge by flight. Most of the tumultuous tide flowed into Rome, and it was so filled with the hasty conflux of the circling people, that amidst the violent agitation it would hardly either obey the magistrate, or listen to the voice of reason, but was in the utmost danger of falling by its own violence ; for the whole was a prey to contrary passions and the most violent convulsions. Those who favoured these disorders were not satisfied with enjoying them in private, but reproached the other party, amidst their fears and sorrows, and insulted them with menaces of what was to come ; which is the necessary consequence of such troubles in a great city.

Pompey himself, who was already confounded at the turn things had taken, was still more disturbed by a variety of censures on his conduct. Some said, he justly suffered for exalting Cæsar against himself and his country ; others, for permitting Lentulus to overrule him, when Cæsar departed from his first demands, and offered equitable terms of peace. Favonius went so far as to bid him "stamp with his foot ;" alluding to a vaunting speech he had at one time made in the senate, in which he bade them take no thought about preparations for the war ; for, as soon as he marched out of Rome, if he did but stamp with his foot, he should fill Italy with his legions.

Pompey, however, at that time was not inferior in numbers to Cæsar, but his partisans would not suffer him to proceed according to his own opinion. By false reports and groundless terrors, as if the enemy was at the gates, and had carried all before him, they forced him along with the general torrent. He had it decreed, therefore, that things were in a tumultuous state, and nothing to be expected but hostilities ; and then left Rome, having first ordered the senate, and every man to follow, who preferred his country and liberty to the rod of a tyrant. The consuls, too, fled with him, without offering the sacrifices which custom required before they took their departure from Rome. Most of the senators snatched up those things in their houses that were next at hand, as if the whole was not their own, and joined in the flight. Nay, there were some, who before were well affected to Cæsar, that in the present terror changed sides, and suffered themselves without necessity to be carried away by the torrent. What a miserable spectacle was the city then ! In so dreadful a tempest, like a ship abandoned by its pilots, tossed about at all adventures, and at the mercy of the winds and seas. But though flight was so unpromising an alternative, such was the love the Romans had for Pompey, that they

considered the place he retired to as their country, and Rome as the camp of Cæsar. For even Labienus, one of Cæsar's principal friends, who, in quality of his lieutenant, had served under him with the greatest alacrity in the wars of Gaul, now went over to Pompey. Nevertheless, Cæsar sent him his money and his equipage.

After this Cæsar invested Corfinium, where Domitius, with thirty cohorts, commanded for Pompey. Domitius* in despair ordered a servant of his, who was his physician, to give him poison. He took the draught prepared for him, as a sure means of death; but soon after hearing of Cæsar's extraordinary clemency to his prisoners, he lamented his own case and the hasty resolution he had taken. Upon which the physician removed his fears, by assuring him that what he had drank was a sleeping potion, not a deadly one. This gave him such spirits, that he rose up and went to Cæsar. But though Cæsar pardoned him, and gave him his hand, he soon revolted, and repaired again to Pompey.

The news of this transaction being brought to Rome, gave great relief to the minds of the people, and many who had fled came back again. In the meantime, Cæsar, having added to his own army the troops of Domitius, and all others that Pompey had left in garrison, was strong enough to march against Pompey himself. The latter, however, did not wait for him; but retired to Brundisium, from whence he sent the consuls with part of the forces to Dyrrhachium, and a little after, upon the approach of Cæsar, sailed thither himself. Cæsar would have followed him immediately, but he wanted ships. He therefore returned to Rome, with the glory of having reduced Italy in sixty days without spilling a drop of blood.

Finding the city in a more settled condition than he expected, and many senators there, he addressed them in a mild and gracious manner, and desired them to send deputies to Pompey to offer honourable terms of peace. But not one of them would take upon him the commission: whether it was that they were afraid of Pompey, whom they had deserted, or whether they thought Cæsar not in earnest in the proposal, and that he only made it to save appearances. As Metellus the tribune opposed his taking money out of the public treasury, and alleged some laws against it, Cæsar said, "Arms and laws do not flourish together. If you are not pleased at what I am about, you have

* Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus was nominated to succeed Cæsar, pursuant to the decree of the senate, in the government of Transalpine Gaul; but he imprudently shut himself up in Corfinium before he left Italy.

nothing to do but to withdraw : indeed, war will not bear much liberty of speech. When I say this, I am departing from my own right : for you, and all whom I have found exciting a spirit of faction against me, are at my disposal." Saying this, he approached the doors of the treasury, and as the keys were not produced, he sent for workmen to break them open. Metellus opposed him again, and some praised his firmness ; but Cæsar, raising his voice, threatened to put him to death, if he gave him any farther trouble. "And, young man," said he, "you are not ignorant that this is harder for me to say than to do." Metellus, terrified with his menace, retired, and afterwards Cæsar was easily and readily supplied with everything necessary for the war.

His first movement was to Spain, from whence he was resolved to drive Afranius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants, and after having made himself master of their troops and provinces, to march against Pompey, without leaving any enemy behind him. In the course of this expedition, his life was often in danger from ambuscades, and his army had to combat with famine ; yet he continued his operations against the enemy, either by pursuit, or offering them battle, or forming lines of circumvallation about them, till he forced their camp, and added their troops to his own. The officers made their escape, and retired to Pompey.

Upon his return to Rome, his father-in-law Piso pressed him to send deputies to Pompey to treat of an accommodation ; but Isauricus, to make his court to Cæsar, opposed it. The senate declared him dictator, and while he held that office, he recalled the exiles ; he restored to their honours the children of those who had suffered under Sylla ; and relieved debtors by cancelling part of the usury. These, and a few more, were his acts during his dictatorship, which he laid down in eleven days. After this, he caused himself to be declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and then went to prosecute the war. He marched so fast to Brundisium, that all his troops could not keep up with him. However, he embarked with only 600 select horse and five legions. It was at the time of the winter solstice, the beginning of January, which answers to the Athenian month *Poseideon*, that he set sail. He crossed the Ionian, made himself master of Oricum and Apollonia, and sent back* his ships

* He sent them back under the conduct of Calenus. That officer, losing the opportunity of the wind, fell in with Bibulus, who took thirty of his ships, and burned them all, together with their pilots and mariners, in order to intimidate the rest.

to Brundisium to bring over the forces that were left behind. But those troops, exhausted with fatigue, and tired out with the multitude of enemies they had to engage with, broke out into complaints against Cæsar, as they were upon their march to the port. "Whither will this man lead us," said they, "and where will be the end of our labours? Will he harass us for ever, as if we had limbs of stone, or bodies of iron? But iron itself yields to repeated blows; our very shields and cuirasses call out for rest. Will not Cæsar learn from our wounds that we are mortal, that we have the same feelings, and are liable to the same impressions with other men? The gods themselves cannot force the seasons, or clear the winter seas of storms and tempests. And it is in this season that he would expose us, as if he was flying from his enemies, rather than pursuing them."

Amidst such discourse as this, they moved on slowly to Brundisium. But when they arrived there, and found that Cæsar was gone, they changed their language, and reproached themselves as traitors to their general. They vented their anger upon their officers, too, for not hastening their march. And sitting upon the cliffs, they kept their eyes upon the sea towards Epirus, to see if they could discover the transports that were to fetch them.

Meantime Cæsar, not having a sufficient force at Apollonia to make head against the enemy, and seeing the troops at Brundisium delayed to join him, to relieve himself from the anxiety and perplexity he was in, undertook a most astonishing enterprise. Though the sea was covered with the enemy's fleets, he resolved to embark in a vessel of twelve oars, without acquainting any person with his intention, and sail to Brundisium.* In the night, therefore, he took the habit of a slave, and throwing himself into the vessel like a man of no account, sat there in silence. They fell down the river Anias for the sea, where the entrance is generally easy, because the land-wind; rising in the morning, used to beat off the waves of the sea and smooth the mouth of the river. But unluckily that night a strong sea-wind sprung up which overpowered that from the land: so that by the rage of the sea and the counteraction of the stream, the river became extremely rough; the waves

* Most historians blame this as a rash action; and Cæsar himself, in his Commentaries, makes no mention of this, or of another less dangerous attempt, which is related by Suetonius. While he was making war in Gaul, upon advice that the Gauls had surrounded his army in his absence, he dressed himself like a native of the country, and in that disguise passed through the enemy's sentinels and troops to his own camp.

dashed against each other with a tumultuous noise, and formed such dangerous eddies, that the pilot despaired of making good his passage, and ordered the mariners to turn back. Cæsar, perceiving this, rose up, and showing himself to the pilot, who was greatly astonished at the sight of him, said, "Go forward, my friend, and fear nothing; thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune." The mariners then forgot the storm, and plying their oars with the utmost vigour and alacrity, endeavoured to overcome the resistance of the waves. But such was their violence at the mouth of the river, and the water flowed so fast into the vessel, that Cæsar at last, though with great reluctance, permitted the pilot to turn back. Upon his return to his camp, the soldiers met him in crowds, pouring out their complaints, and expressing the greatest concern that he did not assure himself of conquering with them only, but, in distrust of their support, gave himself so much uneasiness and exposed his person to so much danger on account of the absent.

Soon after, Antony arrived from Brundisium with the troops.* Cæsar, then in the highest spirits, offered battle to Pompey, who was encamped in an advantageous manner, and abundantly supplied with provisions both from sea and land; whereas Cæsar at first had no great plenty, and afterwards was in extreme want. The soldiers, however, found great relief from a root† in the adjoining fields, which they prepared in milk. Sometimes they made it into bread, and going up to the enemy's advanced guards, threw it in among them, and declared, that as long as the earth produced such roots, they would certainly besiege Pompey.

Pompey would not suffer either such bread to be produced, or such speeches to be reported in his camp; for his men were already discouraged, and ready to shudder at the thought of the impenetrable hardness of Cæsar's troops, who could bear as much as so many wild beasts. There were frequent skirmishes about Pompey's intrenchments,‡ and Cæsar had the advantage

* Antony and Calenus embarked on board the vessels which had escaped Bibulus, 800 horse and four legions—that is, three old ones, and one that had been newly raised; and when they were landed, Antony sent back the ships for the rest of the forces.

† This root was called *Clava*. Some of Cæsar's soldiers, who had served in Sardinia, had there learned to make bread of it.

‡ Cæsar observed an old camp which he had occupied in the place where Pompey was enclosed, and afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it, Pompey had taken possession of it, and left a legion to guard it. This post Cæsar attempted to reduce, and it was in this attempt that he suffered so much loss. He lost 960 foot, 400 horse, among whom were several

in them all, except one, in which his party was forced to fly with such precipitation that he was in danger of having his camp taken. Pompey headed the attack in person, and not a man could stand before him. He drove them upon their own lines in the utmost confusion, and filled their trenches with the dead.

Cæsar ran to meet them, and would have rallied the fugitives, but it was not in his power. He laid hold on the ensign staves to stop them, and some left them in his hands, and others threw them upon the ground, insomuch that no less than thirty-two standards were taken. Cæsar himself was very near losing his life ; for having laid hold of a tall and strong man, to stop him and make him face about, the soldier in his terror and confusion lifted up his sword to strike him ; but Cæsar's armour-bearer prevented it by a blow which cut off his arm.

Cæsar saw his affairs that day in so bad a posture, that after Pompey, either through too much caution, or the caprice of fortune, instead of giving the finishing stroke to so great an action, stopped as soon as he had shut up the enemy within their intrenchments, and sounded a retreat, he said to his friends as he withdrew, "This day victory would have declared for the enemy, if they had had a general who knew how to conquer." He sought repose in his tent, but it proved the most melancholy night of his life ; for he gave himself up to endless reflections on his own misconduct in the war. He considered how wrong it was, when the wide countries and rich cities of Macedonia and Thessaly were before him, to confine himself to so narrow a scene of action, and sit still by the sea, while the enemy's fleets had the superiority, and in a place where he suffered the inconveniences of a siege from the want of provisions, rather than besiege the enemy by his arms. Thus agitated and distressed by the perplexities and difficulties of his situation, he resolved to decamp, and march against Scipio in Macedonia ; concluding, that he should either draw Pompey after him, and force him to fight where he could not receive supplies, as he had done, from the sea ; or else that he should easily crush Scipio, if he found him unsupported.

Pompey's troops and officers were greatly elated at this retreat of Cæsar ; they considered it as a flight and an acknowledgment that he was beaten, and therefore wanted to pursue. But Pompey himself was unwilling to hazard a battle of such

Roman knights, five tribunes, and thirty-two centurions. We mentioned just now that Pompey was enclosed, as in fact he was on the land side, by a line of circumvallation drawn by Cæsar.

consequence. He was well provided with everything requisite for waiting the advantages of time, and for that reason chose, by protracting the war, to wear out the little vigour the enemy had left. The most valuable of Cæsar's troops had, indeed, an experience and courage which were irresistible in the field; but age had made them unfit for long marches, for throwing up intrenchments, for attacking walls, and passing whole nights under arms. They were too unwieldy to endure much fatigue, and their inclination for labour lessened with their strength. Besides, there was said to be a contagious distemper among them, which arose from their strange and bad diet; and what was still a more important circumstance, Cæsar wanted both money and provisions, so that it seemed as if he must shortly fall of himself.

These were Pompey's reasons for declining a battle; but not a man, except Cato, was of his opinion; and he, only because he was willing to spare the blood of his countrymen; for when he saw the bodies of the enemy, who fell in the late action, to the number of 1000, lie dead upon the field, he covered his face, and retired, weeping. All the rest censured Pompey for not deciding the affair immediately with the sword, calling him *Agamemnon*, and *King of Kings*, as if he was unwilling to be deprived of the monarchy he was in possession of, and delighted to see so many generals waiting his orders, and attending to pay their court. Favonius, who affected to imitate Cato's bold manner of speaking, but carried it much too far, lamented that Pompey's wanting to keep the kingly state he had got would prevent their eating figs that year at Tusculum. And Afranius, lately come from Spain, where he had succeeded so ill in his command, that he was accused of having been bribed to betray his army, asked Pompey why he did not fight that merchant who trafficked in provinces.

Piqued at these reproaches, Pompey, against his own judgment, marched after Cæsar, who proceeded on his route with great difficulty; for, on account of his late loss, all looked upon him with contempt, and refused to supply him with provisions. However, upon his taking Gomphi,* a town in Thessaly, his troops not only found sufficient refreshments, but recovered surprisingly of the distemper; for, drinking plentifully of the wine they found there, and afterwards marching on in a

* Cæsar, perceiving of how much importance it was to his service to make himself master of the place before Pompey or Scipio could come up, gave a general assault, about three in the afternoon: and, though the walls were very high, carried it before sunset.

Bacchanalian manner, the new turn their blood took threw off the disorder, and gave them another habit of body.

When the two armies were encamped opposite each other on the plains of Pharsalia, Pompey returned to his old opinion ; in which he was confirmed by some unlucky omens, and an alarming dream. He dreamed that the people of Rome received him in the theatre with loud plaudits, and that he adorned the chapel of Venus *Nicephora*, from whom Cæsar derived his pedigree. But if Pompey was alarmed, those about him were so absurdly sanguine in their expectations of victory that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, quarrelled about Cæsar's pontificate ; and numbers sent to Rome, to engage houses convenient for consuls and prætors, making themselves sure of being soon raised to those high offices after the war. But the cavalry testified the greatest impatience for a battle ; so proud were they of their fine arms, of the condition of their horses, and the beauty and vigour of their persons ; besides, they were much more numerous than Cæsar's, being 7000 to 1000. Nor were the numbers of infantry equal ; for Pompey had 45,000, and Cæsar only 22,000.

Cæsar called his soldiers together, and told them that Cornificius was well advanced on his way with two more legions, and that he had fifteen cohorts under the command of Calenus, in the environs of Megara and Athens. He then asked them whether they chose to wait for those troops, or to risk a battle without them. They answered aloud, "Let us not wait ; but do you find out some stratagem to bring the enemy, as soon as possible, to an action."

He began with offering sacrifices of purification for his army, and upon opening the first victim the soothsayer cried out, "You will fight within three days." Cæsar then asked him, if there appeared in the entrails any auspicious presage. He answered, "It is you who can best resolve that question. The gods announce a great change and revolution in affairs. If you are happy at present, the alteration will be for the worse ; if otherwise, expect better fortune." The night before the battle, as he walked the rounds about midnight, there appeared a luminous phenomenon in the air, like a torch, which, as it passed over his camp, flamed out with great brightness, and seemed to fall in that of Pompey. And, in the morning, when the guards were relieved, a tumult was observed in the enemy's camp, not unlike a panic terror.* Cæsar, however, so little expected an action

* Cæsar hoped, by his frequent decampings, to provide better for his troops, and perhaps gain a favourable opportunity of fighting.

that day, that he had ordered his troops to decamp, and march to Scotusa.

But as they were striking their tents, his scouts rode up and told him the enemy were coming down to give him battle. Happy in the news, he made his prayer to the gods, and then drew up his army, which he divided into three bodies. Domitius Calvinus was to command the centre, Antony the left wing, and himself the right, where he intended to charge at the head of the tenth legion. Struck with the number and magnificent appearance of the enemy's cavalry, who were posted over against him, he ordered six cohorts privately to advance from the rear. These he placed behind the right wing, and gave them instructions what to do when the enemy's horse came to charge.* Pompey's disposition was this: he commanded the right wing himself, Domitius the left, and his father-in-law, Scipio, the main body. The whole weight of the cavalry was in the left wing; for they designed to surround the right of the enemy, and to make a successful effort where Cæsar fought in person; thinking that no body of foot could be deep enough to bear such a shock, but they must necessarily be broken in pieces upon the first impression.

When the signal was ready to be given, Pompey ordered his infantry to stand in close order, and wait the enemy's attack, till they were near enough to be reached by the javelin. Cæsar blamed this conduct. He said Pompey was not aware what weight the swift and fierce advance to the first charge gives to every blow, nor how the courage of each soldier is inflamed by the rapid motion of the whole.†

He was now going to put his troops in motion, when he saw a trusty and experienced centurion encouraging his men to distinguish themselves that day. Cæsar called him by his name, and said "What cheer, Caius Crassinus? How, think you, do we stand?" "Cæsar," said the veteran, in a bold accent, and stretching out his hand, "the victory is ours. It will be a glorious one; and this day I shall have your praise either alive or dead." So saying, he ran in upon the enemy, at

* Cæsar and Appian agree, that Pompey posted himself in his left wing, not in the right. It is also highly probable that Afranius, not Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus, commanded Pompey's right wing. Cæsar does not, indeed, expressly say who commanded there, but he says, "On the right was posted the legion of Cilicia, with the cohorts brought by Afranius out of Spain, which Pompey esteemed the flower of his army."

† Cæsar was so confident of success that he ordered his intrenchments to be filled up, assuring his troops that they would be masters of the enemy's camp before night.

the head of his company, which consisted of 120 men. He did great execution among the first ranks, and was pressing on with equal fierceness, when one of his antagonists pushed his sword with such force in his mouth, that the point came out at the nape of his neck.

While the infantry were thus warmly engaged in the centre, the cavalry advanced from Pompey's left wing with great confidence, and extended their squadrons, to surround Cæsar's right wing. But before they began the attack,* the six cohorts which Cæsar had placed behind came up boldly to receive them. They did not, according to custom, attempt to annoy the enemy with their javelins at a distance, nor strike at the legs and thighs when they came nearer, but aimed at their eyes, and wounded them in the face, agreeably to the orders they had received. For Cæsar hoped that these young cavaliers, who had not been used to wars and wounds, and who set a great value upon their beauty, would avoid, above all things, a stroke in that part, and immediately give way, as well on account of the present danger as the future deformity. The event answered his expectation. They could not bear the spears pointed against their faces, or the steel gleaming upon their eyes, but turned away their faces, and covered them with their hands. This caused such confusion, that at last they fled in the most infamous manner, and ruined the whole cause. For the cohorts which had been beaten off surrounded their infantry, and charging them in the rear, as well as in front, soon cut them to pieces.

Pompey, when from the other wing he saw his cavalry put to the rout, was no longer himself, nor did he remember that he was Pompey the Great ; but like a man deprived of his senses by some superior power, or struck with consternation at his defeat as the consequence of the divine decree, he retired to his camp without speaking a word, and sat down in his tent to wait the issue. At last, after his whole army was broken and dispersed, and the enemy had got upon his ramparts, and were engaged with the troops appointed to defend them, he seemed to come to himself, and cried out, "What ! into my camp too ?" Without uttering one word more, he laid aside the ensigns of his dignity as general, and taking a habit that might favour his flight, he made his escape privately. †

* Cæsar says, they did engage his right wing and obliged his cavalry to give ground.—*Bell. Civil.* lib. iii.

† After enduring many misfortunes, Pompey arrived at Mitylene, on which island resided his wife Cornelia and his son. He then determined to

When Cæsar entered the camp, and saw what numbers of the enemy lay dead, and those they were then despatching, he said with a sigh, "This they would have; to this cruel necessity they reduced me; for had Cæsar dismissed his troops, after so many great and successful wars, he would have been condemned as a criminal." Asinius Pollio tells us Cæsar spoke those words in Latin, and that he afterwards expressed the sense of them in Greek. He adds, that most of those who were killed at the taking of the camp were slaves, and that there fell not in the battle above 6000 soldiers.* Cæsar incorporated with his own legions most of the infantry that were taken prisoners; and pardoned many persons of distinction. Brutus, who afterwards killed him, was of the number. It is said, that when he did not make his appearance after the battle, Cæsar was very uneasy, and that upon his presenting himself unhurt, he expressed great joy.

Among the many signs that announced this victory, that at Tralles was the most remarkable. There was a statue of Cæsar in the temple of Victory, and though the ground about it was naturally hard, and paved with hard stone besides, it is said that a palm-tree sprung up at the pedestal of the statue. At Padua, Caius Cornelius, a countryman and acquaintance of Livy, and a celebrated diviner, was observing the flight of birds the day the battle of Pharsalia was fought. By this observation, according to Livy's account, he first discerned the time of action, and said to those that were by, "The great affair now draws to a decision; the two generals are engaged." Then he made another observation, and the signs appeared so clear to him, that he leaped up in the most enthusiastic manner, and cried out, "Cæsar, thou art the conqueror." As the company stood in great astonishment, he took the sacred fillet from his head, and swore he would never put it on again till the event had put his art beyond question. Livy affirms this for a truth.

Cæsar granted the whole nation of Thessaly their liberty, for the sake of the victory he had gained there, and then went in pursuit of Pompey. He bestowed the same privilege on the

seek refuge in Egypt, and set sail from Cyprus in a Seleucian galley, accompanied by Cornelia. On reaching Pelusium, where Ptolemy lay with his army, he sent a letter to entreat that king's protection. In the company of several Egyptian officers he left his galley, amidst the distrust of his wife and friends, and on landing was treacherously assassinated. He was just fifty-nine years of age at the time of his death.

* Cæsar says there fell about 15,000 of the enemy, and that he took above 24,000 prisoners; and that on his side, the loss amounted only to about 200 private soldiers and thirty centurions.

Cnidians, in compliment to Theopompus, to whom we are indebted for a collection of fables, and he discharged the inhabitants of Asia from a third part of their imposts.

Upon his arrival at Alexandria, he found Pompey assassinated, and when Theodotus presented the head to him, he turned from the sight with great abhorrence. The signet of that general was the only thing he took, and on taking it he wept. As often as any of Pompey's friends and companions were taken by Ptolemy, wandering about the country, and brought to Cæsar, he loaded them with favours and took them into his own service. He wrote to his friends at Rome, that the chief enjoyment he had of his victory was, in saving every day one or other of his fellow-citizens who had borne arms against him.

As for his Egyptian war, some assert, that it was undertaken without necessity, and that his passion for Cleopatra engaged him in a quarrel which proved both prejudicial to his reputation and dangerous to his person. Others accuse the king's ministers, particularly the eunuch Photinus, who had the greatest influence at court, and who, having taken off Pompey and removed Cleopatra, privately meditated an attempt against Cæsar. Hence it is said, that Cæsar began to pass the night in entertainments among his friends, for the greater security of his person. The behaviour, indeed, of this eunuch in public, all he said and did with respect to Cæsar, was intolerably insolent and invidious. The corn he supplied his soldiers with was old and musty, and he told them they ought to be satisfied with it, since they lived at other people's cost. He caused only wooden and earthen vessels to be served up at the king's table, on pretence that Cæsar had taken all the gold and silver ones for debt. For the father of the reigning prince owed Cæsar 17,500,000 drachmas. Cæsar had formerly remitted to his children the rest, but thought fit to demand the 10,000,000 at this time, for the maintenance of his army. Photinus, instead of paying the money, advised him to go and finish the great affairs he had upon his hands, after which he should have his money with thanks. But Cæsar told him, he had no need for Egyptian counsellors, and privately sent for Cleopatra out of the country.

This princess, taking only one friend, Apollodorus, the Sicilian, with her, got into a small boat, and in the dusk of the evening made for the palace. As she saw it difficult to enter it undiscovered, she rolled herself up in a carpet; Apollodorus tied her up at full length, like a bale of goods, and carried her in at the gates to Cæsar. This stratagem of hers, which was a strong proof of her wit and ingenuity, is said to have first opened her the way to

Cæsar's heart; and the conquest advanced so fast, by the charms of her conversation, that he took upon him to reconcile her brother to her, and insisted that she should reign with him.

An entertainment was given on account of this reconciliation, and all met to rejoice on the occasion; when a servant of Cæsar's, who was his barber, a timorous and suspicious man, led by his natural caution to inquire into everything, and to listen everywhere about the palace, found that Achilles the general, and Photinus the eunuch, were plotting against Cæsar's life. Cæsar, being informed of their design, planted his guards about the hall and killed Photinus. But Achilles escaped to the army, and involved Cæsar in a very difficult and dangerous war; for, with a few troops he had to make head against a great city and a powerful army.

The first difficulty he met with * was the want of water, the Egyptians having stopped up the aqueducts that supplied his quarter.† The second was, the loss of his ships in harbour, which he was forced to burn himself, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands; when the flames unfortunately spreading from the dock to the palace, burned the great Alexandrian library. The third‡ was in the sea fight near the isle of Pharos, when, seeing his men hard pressed, he leaped from the mole into a little skiff, to go to their assistance. The Egyptians making up on all sides, he threw himself into the sea, and with much difficulty reached his galleys by swimming.§ Having several valuable papers, which he was not willing either to lose or to wet, it is said he held them above water with one hand, and swam with the other. The skiff sunk soon after he left it. At last the king joining the insurgents, Cæsar attacked and defeated him. Great numbers of the Egyptians were slain, and the king was heard of no more. This gave Cæsar opportunity

* He was in great danger before, when attacked in the palace by Achilles, who had made himself master of Alexandria.—*Cæs. Bell. Civil.* lib. iii. *sub finem.*

† They also contrived to raise the sea-water by engines, and pour it into Cæsar's reservoirs and cisterns; but Cæsar ordered wells to be dug, and in a night's time got a sufficient quantity of fresh water.—*Vide Cæs. Bell. Alex.*

‡ First, there was a general and naval engagement; after which Cæsar attacked the island, and, last of all, the mole. It was in this last attack he was under the difficulty mentioned by Plutarch.

§ His first intention was to gain the Admiral galley; but, finding it very hard pressed, he made for the others. And it was fortunate for him that he did, for his own galley soon went to the bottom.

to establish Cleopatra queen of Egypt. Soon after, she had a son by him, whom the Alexandrians called Cæsario.

He then departed for Syria, and from thence marched into Asia Minor, where he had intelligence that Domitius, whom he had left governor, was defeated by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, and forced to fly out of Pontus with the few troops that he had left; and that Pharnaces, pursuing his advantage with great ardour, had made himself master of Bythynia and Cappadocia, and was attempting Armenia the Less, having stirred up all the kings and tetrarchs of Asia against the Romans. Cæsar immediately marched against him with three legions, and defeated him in a great battle near Zela, which deprived him of the kingdom of Pontus, as well as ruined his whole army. In the account he gave Amintius, one of his friends in Rome, of the rapidity and despatch with which he gained his victory, he made use only of three words, "I came, I saw, I conquered." Their having all the same form and termination in the Roman language adds grace to their conciseness.

After this extraordinary success he returned to Italy, and arrived at Rome, as the year of his second dictatorship, an office that had never been annual before, was on the point of expiring. He was declared consul for the year ensuing. But it was a blot in his character that he did not punish his troops, who, in a tumult, had killed Cosconius and Galba, men of Prætorian dignity, in any severer manner than by calling them citizens,* instead of fellow-soldiers. Nay, he gave each of them 1000 drachmas notwithstanding, and assigned them large portions of land in Italy. Other complaints against him arose from the madness of Dolabella, the avarice of Amintius, the drunkenness of Antony, and the insolence of Cornificius,† who, having got possession of Pompey's house, pulled it down, and rebuilt it, because he thought it not large enough for him. These things were very disagreeable to the Romans. Cæsar knew it, and disapproved such behaviour, but was obliged, through political views, to make use of such ministers.

* But by this appellation they were cashiered. It was the tenth legion which had mutined at Capua, and afterwards marched with great insolence to Rome. Cæsar readily gave them the discharge they demanded, which so humbled them, that they begged to be taken again into his service; and he did not admit of it without much seeming reluctance, nor till after much entreaty.

† It was Antony, not Cornificius, who got the forfeiture of Pompey's house; as appears from Cicero's second Philippic. Therefore there is, probably, a transposition in this place, owing to the carelessness of some transcriber.

Cato and Scipio, after the battle of Pharsalia, had escaped into Africa, where they raised a respectable army, with the assistance of King Juba. Cæsar now resolved to carry war into their quarters, and in order to it, first crossed over to Sicily, though it was about the time of the winter solstice. To prevent his officers from entertaining any hopes of having the expedition delayed, he pitched his own tent almost within the wash of the sea ; and a favourable wind springing up, he re-embarked with 3000 foot and a small body of horse.* After he had landed them safely and privately on the African coast, he set sail again in quest of the remaining part of his troops, whose numbers were more considerable, and for whom he was under great concern. He found them, however, on their way at sea, and conducted them all to his African camp.

He was there informed that the enemy had great dependence on an ancient oracle, the purport of which was, that the race of Scipio would be always victorious in Africa. And, as he happened to have in his army one of the family of Africanus, named Scipio Sallution, though in other respects a contemptible fellow, either in ridicule of Scipio, the enemy's general, or to turn the oracle on his side, in all engagements he gave this Sallution the command, as if he had been really general. There were frequent occasions of this kind ; for he was often forced to fight for provisions, having neither a sufficiency of bread for his men, nor of forage for his horses. He was obliged to give his horses the very seaweed, only washing out the salt, and mixing a little grass with it to make it go down. The thing that laid him under the necessity of having recourse to this expedient was the number of Numidian cavalry, who were extremely well mounted, and by swift and sudden impressions commanded the whole coast.

One day when Cæsar's cavalry had nothing else to do, they diverted themselves with an African who danced, and played upon the flute with great perfection. They had left their horses to the care of boys, and sat attending to the entertainment with great delight, when the enemy, coming upon them at once, killed part, and entered the camp with others, who fled with great precipitation. Had not Cæsar himself, and Asinius Pollio come to their assistance, and stopped their flight, the war would have been at an end that hour. In another engagement the enemy had the advantage again ; on which occasion it was that

* He embarked six legions and 2000 horse ; but the number mentioned by Plutarch was all that he landed with at first, many of the ships having been separated by a storm.

Cæsar took an ensign, who was running away, by the neck, and making him face about, said, "Look on this side for the enemy."

Scipio, flushed with these successful preludes, was desirous to come to a decisive action. Therefore, leaving Afranius and Juba in their respective camps, which were at no great distance, he went in person to the camp above the lake, in the neighbourhood of Thapsus, to raise a fortification for a place of arms and an occasional retreat. While Scipio was constructing his walls and ramparts, Cæsar, with incredible despatch, made his way through a country almost impracticable, by reason of its woods and difficult passes, and coming suddenly upon him, attacked one part of his army in the rear, another in the front, and put the whole to flight. Then making the best use of his opportunity, and of the favour of fortune, with one tide of success he took the camp of Afranius, and destroyed that of the Numidians; Juba, their king, being glad to save himself by flight. Thus, in a small part of one day, he made himself master of three camps, and killed 50,000 of the enemy, with the loss only of fifty men.

Such is the account some give us of the action; others say, that as Cæsar was drawing up his army and giving his orders, he had an attack of his old distemper; and that upon its approach, before it had overpowered and deprived him of his senses, as he felt the first agitations, he directed his people to carry him to a neighbouring tower, where he lay in quiet till the fit was over.

Many persons of consular and prætorian dignity escaped out of the battle. Some of them, being afterwards taken, despatched themselves, and a number were put to death by Cæsar. Having a strong desire to take Cato alive, the conqueror hastened to Utica,* which Cato had the charge of, and for that reason was not in the battle. But by the way he was informed that he had killed himself, and his uneasiness at the news was very visible. As his officers were wondering what might be the cause of that uneasiness, he cried out, "Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou enviedst me the glory of giving thee thy life." Nevertheless, by the book which he wrote against Cato after his death, it does not seem as if he had any intentions of favour to him before. For how can it be thought he would have spared the

* Before Cæsar left Utica, he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage, as he did, soon after his return to Italy, for the rebuilding of Corinth; so that these two cities were destroyed in the same year, and in the same year raised out of their ruins, in which they had lain about 100 years. Two years after, they were both peopled with Roman colonies.

living enemy, when he poured so much venom afterwards upon his grave? Yet, from his clemency to Cicero, to Brutus, and others without number, who had borne arms against him, it is conjectured, that the book was not written with a spirit of rancour, but of political ambition; for it was composed on such an occasion. Cicero had written an encomium upon Cato, and he gave the name of *Cato* to the book. It was highly esteemed by many of the Romans, as might be expected, as well from the superior eloquence of the author as the dignity of the subject. Cæsar was piqued at the success of a work, which, in praising a man who had killed himself to avoid falling into his hands, he thought insinuated something to the disadvantage of his character. He therefore wrote an answer to it, which he called *Anticato*, and which contained a variety of charges against that great man. Both books have still their friends, as a regard to the memory of Cæsar or of Cato predominates.

Cæsar, after his return from Africa to Rome, spoke in high terms of his victory to the people. He told them he had subdued a country so extensive that it would bring yearly into the public stores 200,000 Attic measures of wheat, and 3,000,000 pounds of oil. After this he led up his several triumphs over Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. In the title of the latter mention was not made of Scipio, but of Juba only. Juba, the son of that prince, then very young, walked in the procession. It proved a happy captivity for him; for of a barbarous and unlettered Numidian, he became an historian worthy to be numbered among the most learned of Greece. The triumph was followed by large donations to the soldiers, and feasts and public diversions for the people. He entertained them at 22,000 tables, and presented them with a numerous show of gladiators and naval fights in honour of his daughter Julia, who had been long dead.

When those exhibitions were over, an account was taken of the citizens, who, from 320,000, were reduced to 150,000. So fatal a calamity was the civil war, and such a number of the people did it take off, to say nothing of the misfortunes it brought upon the rest of Italy, and all the provinces of the empire.

This business done, he was elected consul the fourth time; and the first thing he undertook was to march into Spain against the sons of Pompey, who, though young, had assembled a numerous army, and showed a courage worthy the command they had undertaken. The great battle which put a period to that war was fought under the walls of Munda. Cæsar at first saw his men so hard pressed, and making so feeble a resistance,

that he ran through the ranks, amidst the swords and spears, crying, "Are you not ashamed to deliver your general into the hands of boys?" The great and vigorous efforts this reproach produced at last made the enemy turn their backs, and there were more than 30,000 of them slain, whereas Cæsar lost only 1000, but those were some of the best men he had. As he retired after the battle he told his friends he had often fought for victory, but that was the first time he had fought for his life.

He won this battle on the day of the *Liberalia*, which was the same day that Pompey the Great marched out, four years before. The younger of Pompey's sons made his escape; the other was taken by Didius, a few days after, who brought his head to Cæsar.

This was the last of his wars; and his triumph on account of it gave the Romans more pain than any other step he had taken. He did not now mount the car for having conquered foreign generals or barbarian kings, but for ruining the children, and destroying the race of one of the greatest men Rome had ever produced, though he proved at last unfortunate. All the world condemned his triumphing in the calamities of his country, and rejoicing in things which nothing could excuse, either before the gods or men, but extreme necessity. And it was the more obvious to condemn it, because, before this, he had never sent any messenger or letter to acquaint the public with any victory he had gained in the civil wars, but was rather ashamed of such advantages. The Romans, however, bowing to his power, and submitting to the bridle, because they saw no other respite from intestine wars and miseries, but the taking one man for their master, created him dictator for life. This was a complete tyranny; for to absolute power they added perpetuity.

Cicero was the first who proposed that the senate should confer great honours upon Cæsar, but honours within the measure of humanity. Those who followed contended with each other which should make him the most extraordinary compliments, and by the absurdity and extravagance of their decrees, rendered him odious and insupportable even to persons of candour. His enemies are supposed to vie with his flatterers in these sacrifices that they might have the better pretence, and the more cause to lift up their hands against him. This is probable enough, because in other respects, after the civil wars were brought to an end, his conduct was irreproachable. It seems as if there was nothing unreasonable in their ordering a temple to be built to CLEMENCY, in gratitude for the mercy they had experienced in Cæsar. For he not only pardoned

most of those who had appeared against him in the field, but on some of them he bestowed honours and preferments ; on Brutus and Cassius for instance ; for they were both prætors. The statues of Pompey had been thrown down, but he did not suffer them to lie in that posture ; he erected them again. On which occasion Cicero said that Cæsar, by rearing Pompey's statues, had established his own.

His friends pressed him to have a guard, and many offered to serve in that capacity, but he would not suffer it ; for he said it was better to die once than to live always in fear of death. He esteemed the affection of the people the most honourable and the safest guard, and therefore endeavoured to gain them by feasts and distributions of corn, as he did the soldiers, by placing them in agreeable colonies. The most noted places that he colonised were Carthage and Corinth ; of which it is remarkable that as they were both taken and demolished at the same time, so they were at the same time restored.

The nobility he gained by promising them consulates and prætorships, or, if they were engaged, by giving them other places of honour and profit. To all he opened the prospects of hope ; for he was desirous to reign over a willing people. For this reason he was so studious to oblige, that when Fabius Maximus died suddenly towards the close of his consulship, he appointed Caninus Rebilus consul for the day that remained. Numbers went to pay their respects to him, according to custom, and to conduct him to the senate-house ; on which occasion Cicero said, "Let us make haste and pay our compliments to the consul, before his office is expired."

Cæsar had such talents for great attempts, and so vast an ambition, that the many actions he had performed by no means induced him to sit down and enjoy the glory he had acquired : they rather whetted his appetite for other conquests, produced new designs equally great, together with equal confidence of success, and inspired him with a passion for fresh renown, as if he had exhausted all the pleasures of the old. This passion was nothing but a jealousy of himself, a contest with himself (as eager as if it had been with another man) to make his future achievements outshine the past. In this spirit he had formed a design, and was making preparations for war against the Parthians. After he had subdued them, he intended to traverse Hyrcania, and marching along by the Caspian Sea and Mount Caucasus, to enter Scythia ; to carry his conquering arms through the countries adjoining to Germany, and through Germany itself ; and then to return by Gaul to Rome ; thus

finishing the circle of the Roman empire, as well as extending its bounds to the ocean on every side.

During the preparations for this expedition he attempted to dig through the Isthmus of Corinth, and committed the care of that work to Anienus. He designed also to convey the Tiber by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circaei, and so into the sea near Tarracina, for the convenience as well as security of merchants who traded to Rome. Another public-spirited work that he meditated was to drain all the marshes by Nomentum and Setia, by which ground enough would be gained from the water to employ many thousands of hands in tillage. He proposed farther to raise banks on the shore nearest Rome, to prevent the sea from breaking in upon the land ; to clear the Ostian shore of its secret and dangerous obstructions, and to build harbours fit to receive the many vessels that came in there. These things were designed, but did not take effect.

He completed, however, the regulation of the calendar, and corrected the erroneous computation of time, agreeably to a plan which he had ingeniously contrived, and which proved of the greatest utility. For it was not only in ancient times that the Roman months so ill agreed with the revolution of the year that the festival and days of sacrifice, by little and little, fell back into seasons quite opposite to those of their institution ; but even in the time of Cæsar, when the solar year was made use of, the generality lived in perfect ignorance of the matter ; and the priests, who were the only persons that knew anything about it, used to add all at once, and when nobody expected it, an intercalary month, called *Mercidoni*us, of which Numa was the inventor. That remedy, however, proved much too weak, and was far from operating extensively enough to correct the great miscomputations of time.

Cæsar, having proposed the question to the most able philosophers and mathematicians, published, upon principles already verified, a new and more exact regulation, which the Romans still go by, and by that means are nearer the truth than other nations with respect to the difference between the sun's revolution and that of the twelve months. Yet this useful invention furnished matter of ridicule to the envious, and to those who could but ill brook his power. For Cicero (if I mistake not), when some one happened to say, "*Lyra* will rise to-morrow," answered, "Undoubtedly ; there is an edict for it : " as if the calendar was forced upon them, as well as other things.

But the principal thing that excited the public hatred, and at

last caused his death, was his passion for the title of king. It was the first thing that gave offence to the multitude, and it afforded his inveterate enemies a very plausible plea. Those who wanted to procure him that honour gave it out among the people that it appeared, from the Sibylline books, the Romans could never conquer the Parthians, except they went to war under the conduct of a king. And one day, when Cæsar returned from Alba to Rome, some of his retainers ventured to salute him by that title. Observing that the people were troubled at this strange compliment, he put on an air of resentment, and said he was not called king, but Cæsar. Upon this a deep silence ensued, and he passed on in no good humour.

Another time the senate having decreed him some extravagant honours, the consuls and prætors, attended by the whole body of patricians, went to inform him of what they had done. When they came, he did not rise to receive them, but kept his seat, as if they had been persons in a private station, and his answer to their address was, that there was more need to retrench his honours than to enlarge them. This haughtiness gave pain not only to the senate, but the people, who thought the contempt of that body reflected dishonour upon the whole commonwealth : for all who could decently withdraw went off greatly dejected.

Perceiving the false step he had taken, he retired immediately to his own house ; and laying his neck bare, told his friends, he was ready for the first hand that would strike. He then bethought himself of alleging his distemper as an excuse ; and asserted, that those who are under its influence are apt to find their faculties fail them, when they speak standing ; a trembling and giddiness coming upon them, which bereaves them of their senses. This, however, was not really the case ; for it is said he was desirous to rise to the senate ; but Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, held him, and had servility enough to say, "Will you not remember that you are Cæsar, and suffer them to pay their court to you as their superior?"

These discontents were greatly increased by the indignity with which he treated the tribunes of the people. In the *Lupercalia*, which, according to most writers, is an ancient pastoral feast, and which answers in many respects to the *Lycea* amongst the Arcadians, young men of noble families, and indeed many of the magistrates, run about the streets naked, and, by way of diversion, strike all they meet with

leathern thongs with the hair upon them. Numbers of women of the first quality put themselves in their way, and present their hands for stripes (as scholars do to a master), being persuaded that the pregnant gain an easy delivery by it, and that the barren are enabled to conceive. Cæsar wore a triumphant robe that day, and seated himself in a golden chair upon the *rostra*, to see the ceremony.

Antony ran among the rest, in compliance with the rules of the festival, for he was consul. When he came into the *forum*, and the crowd had made way for him, he approached Cæsar, and offered him a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon this, some plaudits were heard, but very feeble, because they proceeded only from persons placed there on purpose. Cæsar refused it, and then the plaudits were loud and general. Antony presented it once more, and few applauded his officiousness ; but when Cæsar rejected it again, the applause again was general. Cæsar, undeceived by his second trial, rose up, and ordered the diadem to be consecrated in the Capitol.

A few days after, his statues were seen adorned with royal diadems ; and Flavius and Marullus, two of the tribunes, went and tore them off. They also found out the persons who first saluted Cæsar king, and committed them to prison. The people followed with cheerful acclamations, and called them *Brutuses*, because Brutus was the man who expelled the kings, and put the government in the hands of the senate and people. Cæsar, highly incensed at their behaviour, deposed the tribunes ; and by way of reprimand to them, as well as insult to the people, called them several times *Brutes* and *Cumæans*.

Upon this, many applied to Marcus Brutus, who, by the father's side, was supposed to be a descendant of that ancient Brutus, and whose mother was of the illustrious house of the Servilii. He was also nephew and son-in-law to Cato. No man was more inclined than he to lift his hand against monarchy, but he was withheld by the honours and favours he had received from Cæsar, who had not only given him his life after the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, and pardoned many of his friends at his request, but continued to honour him with his confidence. That very year he had procured him the most honourable prætorship, and he had named him for the consulship four years after, in preference to Cassius, who was his competitor. On which occasion Cæsar is reported to have said, "Cassius assigns the strongest reasons, but I cannot refuse Brutus."

Some impeached Brutus, after the conspiracy was formed ;

but, instead of listening to them, he laid his hand on his body, and said, "Brutus will wait for this skin:" intimating, that though the virtue of Brutus rendered him worthy of empire, he would not be guilty of any ingratitude or baseness to obtain it. Those, however, who were desirous of a change, kept their eyes upon him only, or principally at least; and as they durst not speak out plain, they put billets night after night in the tribunal and seat which he used as prætor, mostly in these terms: "Thou sleepest, Brutus;" or, "Thou art not Brutus."

Cassius perceiving his friend's ambition a little stimulated by these papers, began to ply him closer than before, and spur him on to the great enterprise; for he had a particular enmity against Cæsar. Cæsar, too, had some suspicion of him, and he even said one day to his friends, "What think you of Cassius? I do not like his pale looks." Another time, when Antony and Dolabella were accused of some designs against his person and government, he said, "I have no apprehensions from those fat and sleek men; I rather fear the pale and lean ones;" meaning Cassius and Brutus.

It seems, from this instance, that fate is not so secret as it is inevitable; for we are told, there were strong signs and presages of the death of Cæsar. As to the lights in the heavens, the strange noises heard in various quarters by night, and the appearance of solitary birds in the *forum*, perhaps they deserve not our notice in so great an event as this. But some attention should be given to Strabo the philosopher. According to him, there were seen in the air men of fire encountering each other; such a flame appeared to issue from the hand of a soldier's servant, that all the spectators thought it must be burned, yet, when it was over, he found no harm; and one of the victims which Cæsar offered, was found without a heart. The latter was certainly a most alarming prodigy; for, according to the rules of nature, no creature can exist without a heart. What is still more extraordinary, many report, that a certain soothsayer forewarned him of a great danger which threatened him on the ides of March, and that when the day was come, as he was going to the senate-house, he called to the soothsayer, and said, laughing, "The ides of March are come;" to which he answered, softly, "Yes; but they are not gone."

The evening before, he supped with Marcus Lepidus, and signed, according to custom, a number of letters, as he sat at table. While he was so employed, there arose a question, what kind of death was best; and Cæsar answering before them all, cried out, "A sudden one." The same night, as he was in bed with

his wife, the doors and windows of the room flew open at once. Disturbed both with the noise and the light, he observed, by moonshine, Calpurnia in a deep sleep, uttering broken words and inarticulate groans. She dreamed that she was weeping over him, as she held him, murdered, in her arms. Others say, she dreamed that the* pinnacle was fallen, which, as Livy tells us, the senate had ordered to be erected upon Cæsar's house, by way of ornament and distinction ; and that it was the fall of it which she lamented and wept for. Be that as it may, the next morning she conjured Cæsar not to go out that day, if he could possibly avoid it, but to adjourn the senate : and, if he had no regard to her dreams, to have recourse to some other species of divination, or to sacrifices, for information as to his fate. This gave him some suspicion and alarm ; for he had never known before, in Calpurnia, anything of the weakness or superstition of her sex, though she was now so much affected.

He therefore offered a number of sacrifices, and, as the diviners found no auspicious tokens in any of them, he sent Antony to dismiss the senate. In the meantime, Decius Brutus,† surnamed Albinus, came in. He was a person in whom Cæsar placed such confidence that he had appointed him his second heir, yet he was engaged in the conspiracy with the other Brutus and Cassius. This man, fearing that if Cæsar adjourned the senate to another day the affair might be discovered, laughed at the diviners, and told Cæsar he would be highly to blame, if, by such a slight, he gave the senate an occasion of complaint against him. For they were met, he said, at his summons, and came prepared with one voice to honour him with the title of king in the provinces, and to grant that he should wear the diadem both by land and sea everywhere out of Italy. "But if any one go and tell them, now they have taken their places, they must go home again, and return when Calpurnia happens to have better dreams, what room will your enemies have to launch out against you ! Or who will hear your friends when they attempt to show, that this is not an open servitude on the one hand, and tyranny on the other ?—If you are absolutely persuaded that this is an unlucky day, it is certainly better to go yourself, and tell them you have

* The pinnacle was an ornament usually placed upon the top of their temples, and was commonly adorned with some statues of their gods, figures of victory, or other symbolical device.

† Plutarch finding a *D* prefixed to Brutus, took it for *Decius* ; but his name was *Decimus Brutus*. See Appian and Suetonius.

strong reasons for putting off business till another time." So saying, he took Cæsar by the hand, and led him out.

He was not gone far from the door, when a slave, who belonged to some other person, attempted to get up to speak to him, but finding it impossible, by reason of the crowd that was about him, he made his way into the house, and putting himself into the hands of Calpurnia, desired her to keep him safe till Cæsar's return, because he had matters of great importance to communicate.

Artemidorus the Cnidian, who, by teaching the Greek eloquence, became acquainted with some of Brutus's friends, and had got intelligence of most of the transactions, approached Cæsar with a paper, explaining what he had to discover. Observing that he gave the papers, as fast as he received them, to his officers, he got up as close as possible, and said, "Cæsar, read this to yourself, and quickly; for it contains matters of great consequence, and of the last concern to you." He took it and attempted several times to read it, but was always prevented by one application or other. He therefore kept that paper, and that only in his hand, when he entered the house. Some say, it was delivered to him by another man, Artemidorus being kept from approaching him all the way by the crowd.

These things might, indeed, fall out by chance; but as in the place where the senate was that day assembled, and which proved the scene of that tragedy, there was a statue of Pompey, and it was an edifice which Pompey had consecrated for an ornament to his theatre, nothing can be clearer than that some deity conducted the whole business, and directed the execution of it to that very spot. Even Cassius himself, though inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus, turned his eye to the statue of Pompey, and secretly invoked his aid, before the great attempt. The arduous occasion, it seems, overruled his former sentiments, and laid him open to all the influence of enthusiasm. Antony, who was a faithful friend to Cæsar, and a man of great strength, was held in discourse without by Brutus Albinus, who had contrived a long story to detain him.

When Cæsar entered the house, the senate rose to do him honour. Some of Brutus's accomplices came up behind his chair, and others before it, pretending to intercede, along with Metillius Cimber,* for the recall of his brother from exile. They

* *Metillius* is plainly a corruption. Suetonius calls him *Cimber Tullius*. In Appian he is named *Antilius Cimber*, and there is a medal which bears that name; but that medal is believed to be spurious. Some call him *Metellius Cimber*; and others suppose we should read *M. Tullius Cimber*.

continued their instances till he came to his seat. When he was seated he gave them a positive denial ; and as they continued their importunities with an air of compulsion, he grew angry. Cimber,* then, with both hands, pulled his gown off his neck, which was the signal for the attack. Casca gave him the first blow. It was a stroke upon the neck with his sword, but the wound was not dangerous ; for in the beginning of so tremendous an enterprise he was probably in some disorder. Cæsar therefore turned upon him, and laid hold of his sword. At the same time they both cried out, the one in Latin, " Villain ! Casca ! what dost thou mean ? " and the other in Greek, to his brother, " Brother, help ! "

After such a beginning, those who knew nothing of the conspiracy were seized with consternation and horror, insomuch that they durst neither fly nor assist, nor even utter a word. All the conspirators now drew their swords, and surrounded him in such a manner, that whatever way he turned, he saw nothing but steel gleaming in his face, and met nothing but wounds. Like some savage beast attacked by the hunters, he found every hand lifted against him, for they all agreed to have a share in the sacrifice and a taste of his blood. Therefore Brutus himself gave him a stroke in the groin. Some say, he opposed the rest, and continued struggling and crying out, till he perceived the sword of Brutus ; then he drew his robe over his face, and yielded to his fate. Either by accident, or pushed thither by the conspirators, he expired on the pedestal of Pompey's statue, and dyed it with his blood ; so that Pompey seemed to preside over the work of vengeance, to tread his enemy under his feet, and to enjoy his agonies. Those agonies were great, for he received no less than three and twenty wounds. And many of the conspirators wounded each other, as they were aiming their blows at him.

Cæsar thus despatched, Brutus advanced to speak to the senate, and to assign his reasons for what he had done, but they could not bear to hear him ; they fled out of the house, and filled the people with inexpressible horror and dismay. Some shut up their houses ; others left their shops and counters. All were in motion ; one was running to see the spectacle ; another running back. Antony and Lepidus, Cæsar's principal friends, withdrew, and hid themselves in other people's houses. Meantime Brutus and his confederates, yet warm from the slaughter, marched in a body with their bloody swords in their hands,

* Here in the original it is Metillius again.

from the senate-house to the Capitol, not like men that fled, but with an air of gaiety and confidence, calling the people to liberty, and stopping to talk with every man of consequence whom they met. There were some who even joined them, and mingled with their train ; desirous of appearing to have had a share in the action, and hoping for one in the glory. Of this number were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity ; being put to death by Antony and young Cæsar. So that they gained not even the honour for which they lost their lives ; for nobody believed that they had any part in the enterprise ; and they were punished, not for the deed, but for the will.

Next day Brutus, and the rest of the conspirators, came down from the Capitol, and addressed the people, who attended to their discourse without expressing either dislike or approbation of what was done. But by their silence it appeared that they pitied Cæsar, at the same time that they revered Brutus. The senate passed a general amnesty ; and, to reconcile all parties, they decreed Cæsar divine honours, and confirmed all the acts of his dictatorship ; while on Brutus and his friends they bestowed governments, and such honours as were suitable ; so that it was generally imagined the commonwealth was firmly established again, and all brought into the best order.

But when, upon the opening of Cæsar's will, it was found that he had left every Roman citizen a considerable legacy, and they beheld the body, as it was carried through the *forum*, all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer be kept within bounds. They stopped the procession, and tearing up the benches, with the doors and tables, heaped them into a pile, and burned the corpse there. Then snatching flaming brands from the pile, some ran to burn the houses of the assassins, while others ranged the city, to find the conspirators themselves, and tear them in pieces ; but they had taken such care to secure themselves that they could not meet with one of them.

One Cinna, a friend of Cæsar's, had a strange dream the preceding night. He dreamed (as they tell us) that Cæsar invited him to supper, and, upon his refusal to go, caught him by the hand, and drew him after him, in spite of all the resistance he could make. Hearing, however, that the body of Cæsar was to be burned in the *forum*, he went to assist in doing him the last honours, though he had a fever upon him, the consequence of his uneasiness about his dream. On his coming up, one of the populace asked who that was, and having

learned his name, told it to his next neighbour. A report immediately spread through the whole company, that it was one of Cæsar's murderers ; and, indeed, one of the conspirators was named Cinna. The multitude, taking this for the man, fell upon him, and tore him to pieces upon the spot. Brutus and Cassius were so terrified at this rage of the populace that, a few days after, they left the city.

Cæsar died at the age of fifty-six, and did not survive Pompey above four years. His object was sovereign power and authority, which he pursued through innumerable dangers, and by prodigious efforts he gained it at last. But he reaped no other fruit from it than an empty and invidious title. It is true the divine power, which conducted him through life, attended him after his death as his avenger, pursued and hunted out the assassins over sea and land, and rested not till there was not a man left, either of those who dipped their hands in his blood or of those who gave their sanction to the deed.

The most remarkable of natural events relative to this affair was, that Cassius, after he had lost the battle of Philippi, killed himself with the same dagger which he had made use of against Cæsar ; and the most signal phenomenon in the heavens was that of a great comet,* which shone very bright for seven nights after Cæsar's death, and then disappeared. To which we may add the fading of the sun's lustre ; for his orb looked pale all that year ; he rose not with a sparkling radiance, nor had the heat he afforded its usual strength. The air, of course, was dark and heavy, for want of that vigorous heat which clears and rarifies it ; and the fruits were so crude and uncooked that they pined away and decayed, through the chillness of the atmosphere.

We have a proof still more striking that the assassination of Cæsar was displeasing to the gods, in the phantom that appeared to Brutus. The story of it is this : Brutus was on the point of transporting his army from Abydos to the opposite continent ; and the night before he lay in his tent, awake, according to custom, and in deep thought about what might be the event of the war ; for it was natural for him to watch great

* "A comet made its appearance in the north, while we were celebrating the games in honour of Cæsar, and shone bright for seven days. It arose about the eleventh hour of the day, and was seen by all nations. It was commonly believed to be a sign that the soul of Cæsar was admitted among the gods ; for which reason we added a star to the head of his statue consecrated soon after in the *forum*."—Fragm. AUG. CÆS. ap. Plin. l. ii. c. 25.

part of the night, and no general ever required so little sleep. With all his senses about him, he heard a noise at the door of his tent, and looking towards the light, which was now burned very low, he saw a terrible appearance in the human form, but of prodigious stature and the most hideous aspect. At first he was struck with astonishment; but when he saw it neither did nor spoke anything to him, but stood in silence by his bed, he asked it who it was. The spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus; thou shalt see me at Philippi." Brutus answered boldly, "I'll meet thee there;" and the spectre immediately vanished.

Some time after, he engaged Antony and Octavius Cæsar at Philippi, and the first day was victorious, carrying all before him where he fought in person, and even pillaging Cæsar's camp. The night before he was to fight the second battle, the same spectre appeared to him again, but spoke not a word. Brutus, however, understood that his last hour was near, and courted danger with all the violence of despair. Yet he did not fall in the action; but seeing all was lost, he retired to the top of a rock, where he presented his naked sword to his breast, and a friend, as they tell us, assisting the thrust, he died upon the spot.*

* Whatever Plutarch's motive may have been, it is certain that he has given us a very inadequate and imperfect idea of the character of Cæsar. The life he has written is a confused jumble of facts, snatched from different historians, without order, consistency, regularity, or accuracy. He has left us none of those finer and minuter traits, which, as he elsewhere justly observes, distinguish and characterise the man more than his most popular and splendid operations. He has written the life of Cæsar like a man under restraint; has skimmed over his actions, and shown a manifest satisfaction when he could draw the attention of the reader to other characters and circumstances, however insignificant, or how often soever repeated by himself, in the narrative of other lives. Yet from the little light he has afforded us, and from the better accounts of other historians, we may easily discover, that Cæsar was a man of great and distinguished virtues. Had he been as able in his political as he was in his military capacity, had he been capable of hiding, or even of managing that openness of mind, which was the connate attendant of his liberality and ambition, the last prevailing passion would not have blinded him so far as to put so early a period to his race of glory.

DEMOSTHENES.


 HOEVER it was, my Sossius, that wrote the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race at the Olympic games ; whether Euripides (which is the common opinion), or some other, he asserts that "The first requisite to happiness is, that a man be born in a famous city." But, as to real happiness, which consists principally in the disposition and habit of the mind, for my part I think it would make no difference though a man should be born in an inconsiderable town, or of a mother who had no advantages either of size or beauty ; for it is ridiculous to suppose that Julis, a small town in the Isle of Ceos, which is itself not great, and Ægina, which an Athenian wanted to have taken away, as an eyesore to the Piræus, should give birth to good poets and players,* and not be able to produce a man who might attain the virtues of justice, of contentment, and of magnanimity. Indeed, those arts, which are to gain the master of them considerable profit or honour, may probably not flourish in mean and insignificant towns. But virtue, like a strong and hardy plant, will take root in any place where it can find an ingenuous nature and a mind that has no aversion to labour and discipline. Therefore, if our sentiments or conduct fall short of the point they ought to reach, we must not impute it to the obscurity of the place where we were born, but to our little selves.

These reflections, however, extend not to an author who would write a history of events which happened in a foreign country, and cannot be come at in his own. As he has materials to collect from a variety of books dispersed in different libraries, his first care should be to take up his residence in some populous town which has an ambition for literature. There he will meet with many curious and valuable books : and the particulars that are wanting in writers he may, upon inquiry, be supplied with by those who have laid them up in the faithful repository of memory. This will prevent his work from being defective in any material point. As to myself, I live in a little town, and I choose to live there, lest it should become still less. When I was in Rome, and other parts of Italy, I had not leisure to study the Latin tongue, on account of the public commissions with

* The poet Simonides was of Ceos ; and Polus the actor was of Ægina.

which I was charged, and the number of people that came to be instructed by me in philosophy. It was not, therefore, till a late period in life that I began to read the Roman authors. The process may seem strange ; and yet it is very true. I did not so much gain the knowledge of things by the words, as words by the knowledge I had of things. I shall only add, that, to attain such a skill in the language as to be master of the beauty and fluency of its expressions, with its figures, its harmony, and all the other graces of its structure, would indeed be an elegant and agreeable accomplishment. But the practice and pains it requires are more than I have time for, and I must leave the ambition to excel in that walk to younger men.

We shall now give the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero, and from their actions and political conduct collect and compare their manners and dispositions ; but, for the reason already assigned, we shall not pretend to examine their orations, or to determine which of them was the more agreeable speaker ; for, as Ion says :—

“ What’s the gay dolphin when he quits the waves,
And bounds upon the shore ? ”

Cæcilius,* a writer at all times much too presumptuous, paid little regard to that maxim of the poet’s when he so boldly attempted a comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero. But perhaps the precept, *Know thyself*, would not be considered as divine, if every man could easily reduce it to practice.

It seems to me that Demosthenes and Cicero were originally formed by nature in the same mould, so great is the resemblance in their disposition. The same ambition, the same love of liberty, appears in their whole administration, and the same timidity amidst wars and dangers. Nor did they less resemble each other in their fortunes. For I think it is impossible to find two other orators who raised themselves from obscure beginnings to such authority and power ; who both opposed kings and tyrants ; who both lost their daughters ; were banished their country, and returned with honour ; were forced to fly again ; were taken by their enemies, and at last expired the same hour with the liberties of their country. So that, if nature and fortune, like two artificers, were to descend upon the scene, and dispute about their work, it would be difficult to decide whether the former had produced a greater resemblance in their dispositions,

* Cæcilius was a celebrated rhetorician, who lived in the time of Augustus. He wrote a treatise on the sublime, which is mentioned by Longinus.

or the latter in the circumstances of their lives. We shall begin with the more ancient.

Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, was one of the principal citizens of Athens. Theopompus tells us, he was called the *sword-cutler*, because he employed a great number of slaves in that business. As to what Æschines the orator relates concerning his mother,* that she was the daughter of one Gylon,† who was forced to fly for treason against the commonwealth, and of a barbarian woman, we cannot take upon us to say whether it was dictated by truth, or by falsehood and malignity. He had a large fortune left him by his father, who died when he was only seven years of age; the whole being estimated at little less than fifteen talents. But he was greatly wronged by his guardians, who converted part to their own use, and suffered part to lie neglected. Nay, they were vile enough to defraud his tutors of their salaries. This was the chief reason that he had not those advantages of education to which his quality entitled him. His mother did not choose that he should be put to hard and laborious exercise, on account of the weakness and delicacy of his frame; and his preceptors, being ill paid, did not press him to attend them. Indeed, from the first, he was of a slender and sickly habit, insomuch that the boys are said to have given him the contemptuous name of *Batalus*‡ for his natural defects. Some say, *Batalus* was an effeminate musician, whom Antiphanes ridiculed in one of his farces; others that he was a poet whose verses were of the most wanton and licentious kind. The Athenians, too, at that time, seem to have called a part of the body *Batalus*, which decency forbids us to name. We are told that Demosthenes had likewise the name of *Argas*, either on account of the savage and morose turn of his behaviour; for there is a sort of a serpent which some of the poets call *Argas*,§ or else for the severity of his expressions, which often gave his hearers pain; for there was a poet named *Argas*, whose verses were very keen and satirical. But enough of this article.

* In his oration against Ctesiphon.

† Gylon was accused of betraying to the enemy a town in Pontus called Nymphæum; upon which he fled into Sycthia, where he married a native of the country, and had two daughters by her; one of whom was married to Philocares, and the other, named Cleobule, to Demosthenes. Her fortune was fifty *minæ*; and of this marriage came Demosthenes the orator.

‡ Hesychius gives a different explanation of the word *Batalus*; but Plutarch must be allowed, though Dacier will not here allow him, to understand the sense of the Greek word as well as Hesychius.

§ Hippocrates, too, mentions a serpent of that name.

His ambition to speak in public is said to have taken its rise on this occasion. The orator Callistratus was to plead in the cause which the city of Oropus* had depending; and the expectation of the public was greatly raised both by the powers of the orator, which were then in the highest repute, and by the importance of the trial. Demosthenes hearing the governors and tutors agree among themselves to attend the trial, with much importunity prevailed on his master to take him to hear the pleadings. The master having some acquaintance with the officers who opened the court, got his young pupil a seat where he could hear the orators without being seen. Callistratus had great success, and his abilities were extremely admired. Demosthenes was fired with a spirit of emulation. When he saw with what distinction the orator was conducted home, and complimented by the people, he was struck still more with the power of that commanding eloquence which could carry all before it. From this time, therefore, he bade adieu to the other studies and exercises in which boys are engaged, and applied himself with great assiduity to declaiming, in hopes of being one day numbered among the orators. Isæus was a man he made use of as his preceptor in eloquence, though Isocrates then taught it; whether it was that the loss of his father incapacitated him to pay the sum of ten *minæ*,† which was that rhetorician's usual price, or whether he preferred the keen and subtle manner of Isæus, as more fit for public use.

Hermippus says he met with an account in certain anonymous memoirs that Demosthenes likewise studied under Plato, and received great assistance from him in preparing to speak in public. He adds that Ctesibius used to say, that Demosthenes was privately supplied by Callias the Syracusan, and some others, with the systems of rhetoric taught by Isocrates and Alcidas, and made his advantage of them.

When his minority was expired, he called his guardians to account at law, and wrote orations against them. As they

* Oropus was a town on the banks of the Euripus, on the frontiers of Attica. The Thebans, though they had been relieved in their distress by Chabrias and the Athenians, forgot their former services, and took Oropus from them. Chabrias was suspected of treachery, and Callistratus, the orator, was retained to plead against him. Demosthenes mentions this in his oration against Phidias. At the time of this trial he was about sixteen.

† This could not be the reason, if what is recorded in the Life of Isæus be true, that he was retained as tutor to Demosthenes at the price of 100 *minæ*.

found many methods of chicane and delay, he had great opportunity, as Thucydides says, to exercise his talent for the bar.* It was not without much pains and some risk that he gained his cause ; and, at last, it was but a very small part of his patrimony that he could recover. By this means, however, he acquired a proper assurance and some experience ; and having tasted the honour and power that go in the train of eloquence, he attempted to speak in the public debates, and take a share in the administration. As it is said of Laomedon the Orchomenian, that, by the advice of his physicians, in some disorder of the spleen, he applied himself to running, and continued it constantly a great length of way, till he had gained such excellent health and breath, that he tried for the crown at the public games, and distinguished himself in the long course : so it happened to Demosthenes, that he first appeared at the bar for the recovery of his own fortune, which had been so much embezzled ; and having acquired in that cause a persuasive and powerful manner of speaking, he contested the crown, as I may call it, with the other orators before the general assembly.

However, in his first address to the people, he was laughed at and interrupted by their clamours ; for the violence of his manner threw him into a confusion of periods, and a distortion of his argument. Besides, he had a weakness and a stammering in his voice, and a want of breath, which caused such a distraction in his discourse, that it was difficult for the audience to understand him. At last, upon his quitting the assembly, Eunomus the Thriasian, a man now extremely old, found him wandering in a dejected condition in the Piræus, and took upon him to set him right. "You," said he, "have a manner of speaking very like that of Pericles ; and yet you lose yourself out of mere timidity and cowardice. You neither bear up against the tumults of a popular assembly, nor prepare your body by exercise for the labour of the *rostrum*, but suffer your parts to wither away in negligence and indolence."

Another time, we are told, when his speeches had been ill received, and he was going home with his head covered, and in the greatest distress, Satyrus the player, who was an acquaintance of his, followed, and went in with him : Demosthenes lamented to him, that, though he was the most laborious of all

* He lost his father at the age of seven, and he was ten years in the hands of guardians. He therefore began to plead in his eighteenth year, which, as it was only in his own private affairs, was not forbidden by the laws.

the orators, and had almost sacrificed his health to that application, yet he could gain no favour with the people; but drunken seamen and other unlettered persons were heard, and kept the *rostrum*, while he was entirely disregarded.* “You say true,” answered Satyrus; “but I will soon provide a remedy, if you will repeat to me some speech in Euripides or Sophocles.” When Demosthenes had done, Satyrus pronounced the same speech; and he did it with such propriety of action, and so much in character, that it appeared to the orator quite a different passage. He now understood so well how much grace and dignity action adds to the best oration, that he thought it a small matter to premeditate and compose, though with the utmost care, if the pronunciation and propriety of gesture were not attended to. Upon this he built himself a subterraneous study, which remained to our times. Thither he repaired every day to form his action and exercise his voice; and he would often stay there for two or three months together, shaving one side of his head, that, if he should happen to be ever so desirous of going abroad, the shame of appearing in that condition might keep him in.

When he did go out upon a visit, or received one, he would take something that passed in conversation, some business or fact that was reported to him, for a subject to exercise himself upon. As soon as he had parted from his friends, he went to his study, where he repeated the matter in order as it passed, together with the arguments for and against it. The substance of the speeches which he heard he committed to memory, and afterwards reduced them to regular sentences and periods,† meditating a variety of corrections and new forms of expression, both for what others had said to him, and he had addressed to them. Hence it was concluded that he was not a man of much genius; and that all his eloquence was the effect of labour. A strong proof of this seemed to be, that he was seldom heard to speak anything extempore, and though the people often called upon him by name, as he sat in the assembly, to speak to the point debated, he would not do it unless he came prepared. For this many of the orators ridiculed him; and Pytheas, in particular, told him, that all his arguments smelled of the lamp. Demosthenes retorted sharply upon him. “Yes, indeed, but your lamp and mine, my friend,

* This was the privilege of all democratic states. Some think that by seamen he means Demades, whose profession was that of a mariner.

† Cicero did the same, as we find in his epistles to Atticus. These arguments he calls *Thesis politicae*.

are not conscious to the same labours." To others he did not pretend to deny his previous application, but told them, he neither wrote the whole of his orations, nor spoke without first committing part to writing. He farther affirmed, that this showed him a good member of a democratic state; for the coming prepared to the *rostrum* was a mark of respect for the people. Whereas, to be regardless of what the people might think of a man's address, showed his inclination for oligarchy, and that he had rather gain his point by force than by persuasion. Another proof they give us of his want of confidence on any sudden occasion, is, that when he happened to be put into disorder by the tumultuary behaviour of the people, Demades often rose up to support him in an extempore address, but he never did the same for Demades.

Wherefore, then, it may be said, did Æschines call him an orator of the most admirable assurance? How could he stand up alone and refute Python the Byzantian,* whose eloquence poured against the Athenians like a torrent? And when Lamachus the Myrrhenian pronounced at the Olympic games an encomium which he had written upon Philip and Alexander, and in which he had asserted many severe and reproachful things against the Thebans and Olynthians, how could Demosthenes rise up and prove, by a ready deduction of facts, the many benefits for which Greece was indebted to the Thebans and Chalcidians, and the many evils that the flatterers of the Macedonians had brought upon their country? This, too, wrought such a change in the minds of the great audience, that the sophist, his antagonist, apprehending a tumult, stole out of the assembly.

Upon the whole, it appears that Demosthenes did not take Pericles entirely for his model. He only adopted his action and delivery, and his prudent resolution not to make a practice of speaking from a sudden impulse, or on any occasion that might present itself; being persuaded, that it was to that

* This was one of the most glorious circumstances in the life of Demosthenes. The fate of his country, in a great measure, depended on his eloquence. After Platea was lost, and Philip threatened to march against Athens, the Athenians applied for succours to the Bœotians. When the league was established, and the troops assembled at Charonea, Philip sent ambassadors to the council of Bœotia, the chief of whom was Python, one of the ablest orators of his time. When he had inveighed with all the powers of eloquence against the Athenians and their cause, Demosthenes answered him, and carried the point in their favour. He was so elevated with this victory, that he mentions it in one of his orations in almost the same terms that Plutarch has used here.

conduct he owed his greatness. Yet, while he chose not often to trust the success of his powers to fortune, he did not absolutely neglect the reputation which may be acquired by speaking on a sudden occasion. And, if we believe Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerean, and the comic poets, there was a greater spirit and boldness in his unpremeditated orations than in those he had committed to writing. Eratosthenes says that, in his extemporaneous harangues, he often spoke as from a supernatural impulse; and Demetrius tells us, that in an address to the people, like a man inspired, he once uttered this oath in verse—

“By earth, by all her fountains, streams, and floods!”

One of the comic writers calls him *Rhopoperperethras*,* and another, ridiculing his frequent use of the antithesis, says, “As he took, so he retook.” For Demosthenes affected to use that expression. Possibly, Antiphanes played upon that passage in the oration concerning the isle of Halonesus, in which Demosthenes advised the Athenians not to take, but to retake it from Philip.†

It was agreed, however, on all hands, that Demades excelled all the orators when he trusted to nature only; and that his sudden effusions were superior to the laboured speeches of Demosthenes. Aristo of Chios gives us the following account of the opinion of Theophrastus concerning these orators. Being asked in what light he looked upon Demosthenes as an orator, he said, “I think him worthy of Athens:” what of Demades, “I think him above it.” The same philosopher relates of Polyeuctus the Sphettian, who was one of the principal persons in the Athenian administration at that time, that he called Demosthenes the greatest orator, and Phocion the most powerful speaker; because the latter comprised a great deal of sense in a few words. To the same purpose we are told, that Demosthenes himself, whenever Phocion got up to oppose him, used to say to his friends, “Here comes the pruning-hook of my periods.” It is uncertain, indeed, whether Demosthenes referred to Phocion’s manner of speaking, or to his life and character. The latter might be the case, because he knew that

* *A haberdasher of small wares*, or something like it.

† There is an expression something like what Plutarch has quoted, about the beginning of that oration. Libanius suspects the whole of that oration to be spurious; but this raillery of the poet on Demosthenes seems to prove that it was of his hand.

a word or a nod from a man of superior character is more regarded than the long discourses of another.

As for his personal defects, Demetrius the Phalerean gives us an account of the remedies he applied to them ; and he says he had it from Demosthenes in his old age. The hesitation and stammering of his tongue he corrected by practising to speak with pebbles in his mouth ; and he strengthened his voice by running or walking uphill, and pronouncing some passage in an oration or a poem, during the difficulty of breath which that caused. He had, moreover, a looking-glass in his house, before which he used to declaim, and adjust all his motions.

It is said, that a man came to him one day, and desired him to be his advocate against a person from whom he had suffered by assault. "Not you, indeed," said Demosthenes, "you have suffered no such thing." "What !" said the man, raising his voice, "have I not received those blows?" "Ay, now," replied Demosthenes, "you do speak like a person that has been injured." So much, in his opinion, do the tone of voice and the action contribute to gain the speaker credit in what he affirms.

His action pleased the commonalty much ; but people of taste (among whom was Demetrius the Phalerean) thought there was something in it low, inelegant, and unmanly. Her-mippus acquaints us, that Æsion being asked his opinion of the ancient orators and those of that time, said, "Whoever has heard the orators of former times must admire the decorum and dignity with which they spoke. Yet when we read the orations of Demosthenes, we must allow they have more art in the composition and greater force." It is needless to mention, that, in his written orations, there was something extremely cutting and severe ; but, in his sudden repartees, there was also something of humour. When Demades said, "Demosthenes to me ! a sow to Minerva !" our orator made answer. This Minerva was found the other day playing the whore in Colyttus." When a rascal, surnamed *Chalchus*,* attempted to jest upon his late studies and long watchings, he said, "I know my lamp offends thee. But you need not wonder, my countrymen, that we have so many robberies, when we have thieves of brass, and walls only of clay." Though more of his sayings might be produced, we shall pass them over, and go on to seek the rest of his manners and character in his actions and political conduct.

He tells us himself, that he entered upon public business in

* That is *Brass*.

the time of the Phocian war,* and the same may be collected from his Philippics. For some of the last of them were delivered after that war was finished; and the former relate to the immediate transactions of it. It appears also, that he was two-and-thirty years old when he was preparing his oration against Midias; and yet at that time he had attained no name or power in the administration. This, indeed, seems to be the reason of his dropping the prosecution for a sum of money. For—

“No prayer, no moving art
E'er bent that fierce, inexorable heart.”

—POPE.

He was vindictive in his nature, and implacable in his resentments. He saw it a difficult thing, and out of the reach of his interest, to pull down a man so well supported on all sides as Midias, by wealth and friends; and therefore he listened to the application in his behalf. Had he seen any hopes or possibility of crushing his enemy, I cannot think that 3000 *drachmas* could have disarmed his anger.

He had a glorious subject for his political ambition, to defend the cause of Greece against Philip. He defended it like a champion worthy of such a charge, and soon gained great reputation both for eloquence and for the bold truths which he spoke. He was admired in Greece, and courted by the king of Persia. Nay, Philip himself had a much higher opinion of him than the other orators; and his enemies acknowledged that they had to contend with a great man. For Æschines and Hyperides, in their very accusations, give him such a character.

I wonder, therefore, how Theopompus could say that he was a man of no steadiness, who was never long pleased either with the same persons or things. For, on the contrary, it appears that he abode by the party and the measures which he first adopted; and was so far from quitting them during his life, that he forfeited his life rather than he would forsake them. Demades, to excuse the inconsistency of his public character, used to say, “I may have asserted things contrary to my former sentiments, but not anything contrary to the true interest of the commonwealth.” Melanopus, who was of the opposite party to Callistratus, often suffered himself to be bought off, and then said, by way of apology, to the people, “It is true, the man is my enemy, but the public good is an overruling consideration.”

* 533 years before the Christian era. Demosthenes was then in his twenty-seventh year.

And Nicodemus the Messenian, who first appeared strong in the interest of Cassander, and afterwards in that of Demetrius, said he did not contradict himself, for it was always the best way to listen to the strongest. But we have nothing of that kind to allege against Demosthenes. He was never a time-server either in his word or actions. The key of politics which he first touched he kept to without variation.

Panæti^{us}, the philosopher, asserts that most of his orations are written upon this principle, that virtue is to be chosen for her own sake only ; that, for instance, *of the crown*, that *against Aristocrates*, that *for the immunities*, and the *Philippics*. In all these orations, he does not exhort his countrymen to that which is most agreeable, or easy, or advantageous ; but points out honour and propriety as the first objects, and leaves the safety of the state as a matter of inferior consideration. So that, if, besides that noble ambition which animated his measures, and the generous turn of his addresses to the people, he had been blessed with the courage that war demands, and had kept his hands clean of bribes, he would not have been numbered with such orators as Mirocles, Polyeuctus, and Hyperides, but have deserved to have been placed in a higher sphere with Cimon, Thucydides, and Péricles.

Among those who took the reins of government after him, Phocion, though not of the party in most esteem (I mean that which seemed to favour the Macedonians), yet, on account of his probity and valour, did not appear at all inferior to Ephialtes, Aristides, and Cimon. But Demosthenes had neither the courage that could be trusted in the field, nor was he (as Demetrius expresses it) sufficiently fortified against the impressions of money. Though he bore up against the assaults of corruption from Philip and the Macedonians, yet he was taken by the gold of Susa and Ecbatana. So that he was much better qualified to recommend, than to imitate, the virtues of our ancestors. It must be acknowledged, however, that he excelled all the orators of his time, except Phocion, in his life and conversation. And we find in his orations, that he told the people the boldest truths, that he opposed their inclinations, and corrected their errors with the greatest spirit and freedom. Theopompus also acquaints us that, when the Athenians were for having him manager of a certain impeachment, and insisted upon it in a tumultuary manner, he would not comply, but rose up and said, "My friends, I will be your counsellor whether you will or no ; but a false accuser I will not be, how much soever you may wish it." His behaviour in the case of Antipho was of

the aristocratic cast.* The people had acquitted him in the general assembly; and yet he carried him before the *areopagus*; where, without regarding the offence it might give the people, he proved that he had promised Philip to burn the arsenal; upon which he was condemned by the council, and put to death. He likewise accused the priestess Theoris of several misdemeanours; and, among the rest, of her teaching the slaves many arts of imposition. Such crimes, he insisted, were capital; and she was delivered over to the executioner.

Demosthenes is said to have written the oration for Apollodorus, by which he carried his cause against the general Timotheus, in an action of debt to the public treasury; as also those others against Phormio and Stephanus; which was a just exception against his character. For he composed the oration which Phormio had pronounced against Apollodorus. This, therefore, was like furnishing two enemies with weapons out of the same shop to fight one another. He wrote some public orations for others before he had any concern in the administration himself—namely, those against Androtion, Timocrates, and Aristocrates. For it appears that he was only twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age when he published those orations. That against Aristogiton, and that for the *immunities*, he delivered himself, at the request, as he says, of Ctesippus the son of Chabrias; though others tell us it was because he paid his addresses to the young man's mother. He did not, however, marry her; for his wife was a woman of Samos, as Demetrius the Magnesian informs us, in his account of persons of the same name. It is uncertain whether that against Æschines, *for betraying his trust as ambassador*,† was ever spoken; though Idomeneus affirms that Æschines was acquitted only by thirty votes. This seems not to be true, at least so far as may be conjectured from both their orations *concerning the crown*. For neither of them expressly mentions it as a cause that ever came to trial. But this is a point which we shall leave for others to decide.

Demosthenes, through the whole course of his political conduct, left none of the actions of the king of Macedon undisparaged. Even in time of peace he laid hold on every

* See his oration *de Corona*.

† In this oration Demosthenes accused Æschines of many capital crimes committed in the embassy on which he was sent to oblige Philip to swear to the articles of peace. Both that oration, and the answer to Æschines, are still extant.

opportunity to raise suspicions against him among the Athenians, and to excite their resentment. Hence Philip looked upon him as a person of the greatest importance in Athens; and when he went with nine other deputies to the court of that prince, after having given them all audience, he answered the speech of Demosthenes with greater care than the rest. As to other marks of honour and respect, Demosthenes had an equal share in them; they were bestowed principally upon Æschines and Philocrates. They, therefore, were large in the praise of Philip on all occasions; and they insisted, in particular, on his eloquence, his beauty, and even his being able to drink a great quantity of liquor. Demosthenes, who could not bear to hear him praised, turned these things off as trifles. "The first," he said, "was the property of a sophist, the second of a woman, and the third of a sponge; and not one of them could do any credit to a king."

Afterwards, it appeared that nothing was to be expected but war; for, on the one hand, Philip knew not how to sit down in tranquillity; and, on the other, Demosthenes inflamed the Athenians. In this case, the first step the orator took was to put the people upon sending an armament to Eubœa, which was brought under the yoke of Philip by its petty tyrants. Accordingly he drew up an edict, in pursuance of which they passed over to that peninsula, and drove out the Macedonians. His second operation was the sending succours to the Byzantians and Perinthians, with whom Philip was at war. He persuaded the people to drop their resentment, to forget the faults which both these nations had committed in the confederate war, and to send a body of troops to their assistance. They did so, and it saved them from ruin. After this, he went ambassador to the states of Greece; and by his animating address, brought them almost all to join in the league against Philip. Besides the troops of the several cities, they took an army of mercenaries, to the number of 15,000 foot and 2000 horse, into pay, and readily contributed to the charge. Theophrastus tells us, that when the allies desired their contributions might be settled, Crobylus the orator answered, that war could not be brought to any set diet.

The eyes of all Greece were now upon these movements; and all were solicitous for the event. The cities of Eubœa, the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Megarensians, the Leucadians, the Corcyræans, had each severally engaged for themselves against the Macedonians. Yet the greatest work remained for Demosthenes to do; which was to bring the Thebans over to

the league. Their country bordered upon Attica ; they had a great army on foot, and were then reckoned the best soldiers in Greece. But they had recent obligations to Philip in the Phocion war, and therefore it was not easy to draw them from him ; especially when they considered the frequent quarrels and acts of hostility in which their vicinity to Athens engaged them.

Meantime Philip, elated with his success at Amphissa, surprised Elatea, and possessed himself of Phocis. The Athenians were struck with astonishment, and not one of them durst mount the *rostrum* ; no one knew what advice to give ; but a melancholy silence reigned in the city. In this distress Demosthenes alone stood forth, and proposed that application should be made to the Thebans. He likewise animated the people in his usual manner, and inspired them with fresh hopes ; in consequence of which he was sent ambassador to Thebes, some others being joined in commission with him. Philip too, on his part, as Maryas informs us, sent Amyntus and Clearchus, two Macedonians, Doachus the Thessalian, and Trasidæus the Elean, to answer the Athenian deputies. The Thebans were not ignorant what way their true interest pointed ; but each of them had the evils of war before his eyes ; for their Phocion wounds were still fresh upon them. However, the powers of the orator, as Theopompus tells us, rekindled their courage and ambition so effectually that all other objects were disregarded. They lost sight of fear, of caution, of every prior attachment, and, through the force of his eloquence, fell with enthusiastic transports into the path of honour.

So powerful, indeed, were the efforts of the orator, that Philip immediately sent ambassadors to Athens to apply for peace. Greece recovered her spirits, whilst she stood waiting for the event ; and not only the Athenian generals, but the governors of Bœotia, were ready to execute the commands of Demosthenes. All the assemblies, as well those of Thebes as those of Athens, were under his direction : he was equally beloved, equally powerful, in both places ; and, as Theopompus shows, it was no more than his merit claimed. But the superior power of fortune, which seems to have been working a revolution, and drawing the liberties of Greece to a period at that time, opposed and baffled all the measures that could be taken. The deity discovered many tokens of the approaching event. Among the rest, the priestess of Apollo delivered dreadful oracles ; and an old prophecy from the Sybilline books was then much repeated—

“Far from Thermodon’s banks, when, stain’d with blood,
 Bœotia trembles o’er the crimson flood,
 On eagle pinions let me pierce the sky,
 And see the vanquish’d weep, the victor die!”

This Thermodon, they say, is a small river in our country near Chæroneæ, which falls into the Cephissus. At present we know no river of that name; but we conjecture that the Hæmon, which runs by the temple of Hercules, where the Greeks encamped, might then be called Thermodon; and the battle having filled it with blood and the bodies of the slain, it might, on that account, change its appellation. Duris, indeed, says that Thermodon was not a river, but that some of the soldiers, as they were pitching their tents, and opening the trenches, found a small statue, with an inscription, which signified that the person represented was Thermodon holding a wounded Amazon in his arms. He adds, that there was another oracle on the subject, much taken notice of at that time—

“Fell bird of prey,
 Wait thou the plenteous harvest which the sword
 Will give thee on Thermodon.”

But it is hard to say what truth there is in these accounts.

As to Demosthenes, he is said to have had such confidence in the Grecian arms, and to have been so much elated with the courage and spirit of so many brave men calling for the enemy, that he would not suffer them to regard any oracles or prophecies. He told them that he suspected the prophetess herself of *Philipizing*. He put the Thebans in mind of Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles, how they reckoned such things as mere pretexts of cowardice, and pursued the plan which their reason had dictated: Thus far Demosthenes acquitted himself like a man of spirit and honour. But in the battle he performed nothing worthy of the glorious things he had spoken. He quitted his post; he threw away his arms; he fled in the most infamous manner; and was not ashamed, as Pytheas says, to belie the inscription which he had put upon his shield in golden characters, TO GOOD FORTUNE.

Immediately after the victory, Philip, in the elation of his heart, committed a thousand excesses. He drank to intoxication and danced over the dead, making a kind of song of the first part of the decree which Demosthenes had procured, and beating time to it—*Demosthenes the Pæanean, son of Demosthenes, has decreed*. But when he came to be sober again, and considered the dangers with which he had lately

been surrounded, he trembled to think of the prodigious force and power of that orator, who had obliged him to put both empire and life on the cast of a day, on a few hours of that day.*

The fame of Demosthenes reached the Persian court ; and the king wrote letters to his lieutenants, commanding them to supply him with money, and to attend to him more than to any other man in Greece ; because he best knew how to make a diversion in his favour, by raising fresh troubles, and finding employment for the Macedonian arms nearer home. This Alexander afterwards discovered by the letters of Demosthenes which he found at Sardis ; and the papers of the Persian governors expressing the sums which had been given him.

When the Greeks had lost this great battle, those of the contrary faction attacked Demosthenes, and brought a variety of public accusations against him. The people, however, not only acquitted him, but treated him with the same respect as before, and called him to the helm again, as a person whom they knew to be a well-wisher to his country. So that, when the bones of those who fell at Chæronea were brought home to be interred, they pitched upon Demosthenes to make the funeral oration. They were, therefore, so far from bearing their misfortune in a mean and ungenerous manner, as Theopompus, in a tragical strain, represents it ; that by the great honour they did the counsellor, they showed they did not repent of having followed his advice.

Demosthenes accordingly made the oration. But, after this, he did not prefix his own name to his edicts, because he considered fortune as inauspicious to him ; but sometimes that of one friend, sometimes that of another, till he recovered his spirits upon the death of Philip ; for that prince did not long survive his victory at Chæronea, and his fate seemed to be presignified in the last of the verses above quoted—

“ And see the vanquish'd weep, the victor die ! ”

Demosthenes had secret intelligence of the death of Philip ; and, in order to prepossess the people with hopes of some good success to come, he entered the assembly with a gay countenance, pretending he had seen a vision which announced

* Demades the orator contributed to bring him to the right use of his reason, when he told him, with such distinguished magnanimity, that fortune had placed him in the character of Agamemnon, but that he chose to play the part of Thersites.

something great for Athens. Soon after, messengers came with an account of Philip's death. The Athenians immediately offered sacrifices of acknowledgment to the gods for so happy an event, and voted a crown for Pausanius, who killed him. Demosthenes, on this occasion, made his appearance in magnificent attire, and with a garland on his head, though it was only the seventh day after his daughter's death, as Æschines tells us, who, on that account, reproaches him as an unnatural father. But he must himself have been of an ungenerous and effeminate disposition, if he considered tears and lamentations as marks of a kind and affectionate parent, and condemned the man who bore such a loss with moderation.

At the same time, I do not pretend to say the Athenians were right in crowning themselves with flowers, or in sacrificing, upon the death of a prince who had behaved to them with so much gentleness and humanity in their misfortunes ; for it was a meanness, below contempt, to honour him in his life, and admit him a citizen ; and yet, after he was fallen by the hands of another, not to keep their joy within any bounds, but to insult the dead, and sing triumphal songs, as if they had performed some extraordinary act of valour.

I commend Demosthenes, indeed, for leaving the tears and other instances of mourning, which his domestic misfortunes might claim, to the women, and going about such actions as he thought conducive to the welfare of his country ; for I think a man of such firmness and other abilities as a statesman ought to have, should always have the common concern in view, and look upon his private accidents or business as considerations much inferior to the public. In consequence of which, he will be much more careful to maintain his dignity than actors who personate kings and tyrants ; and yet these, we see, neither laugh nor weep according to the dictates of their own passions, but as they are directed by the subject of the drama. It is universally acknowledged that we are not to abandon the unhappy to their sorrows, but to endeavour to console them by rational discourse, or by turning their attention to more agreeable objects ; in the same manner as we desire those who have weak eyes to turn them from bright and dazzling colours, to green, or others of a softer kind. And what better consolation can there be under domestic afflictions, than to attemper and alleviate them with the public success ; so that, by such a mixture, the bad may be corrected by the good. These reflections we thought proper to make, because we have observed that this discourse of Æschines has weakened the

minds of many persons, and put them upon indulging all the effeminacy of sorrow.

Demosthenes now solicited the states of Greece again, and they entered once more into the league. The Thebans, being furnished with arms by Demosthenes, attacked the garrison in their citadel, and killed great numbers; and the Athenians prepared to join them in the war. Demosthenes mounted the *rostrum* almost every day; and he wrote to the king of Persia's lieutenants in Asia, to invite them to commence hostilities from that quarter against Alexander, whom he called a *boy*, a second *Margites*.*

But when Alexander had settled the affairs of his own country, and marched into Bœotia with all his forces, the pride of the Athenians was humbled, and the spirit of Demosthenes died away. They deserted the Thebans; and that unhappy people had to stand the whole fury of the war by themselves; in consequence of which they lost their city. The Athenians were in great trouble and confusion; and they could think of no better measure than the sending Demosthenes, and some others, ambassadors to Alexander. But Demosthenes, dreading the anger of that monarch, turned back at Mount Cithæron, and relinquished his commission. Alexander immediately sent deputies to Athens, who (according to Idomeneus and Duris) demanded that they would deliver up ten of their orators. But the greatest part, and those the most reputable of the historians, say, that he demanded only these eight, Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Callisthenes, and Charidemus. On this occasion Demosthenes addressed the people in the fable of the sheep, who were to give up their dogs to the wolves, before they would grant them peace: by which he insinuated, that he and the other orators were the guards of the people, as the dogs were of the flocks; and that Alexander was the great wolf they had to treat with. And again: "As we see merchants carrying about a small sample in a dish, by which they sell large quantities of wheat; so you, in us, without knowing it, deliver up the whole body of citizens." These particulars we have from Aristobulus of Cassandria.

The Athenians deliberated upon the point in full assembly: and Demades seeing them in great perplexity, offered to go alone to the king of Macedon, and intercede for the orators, on condition that each of them would give him five talents; whether it was that he depended upon the friendship that

* Homer wrote a satire against this Margites, who appears to have been a very contemptible character.

prince had for him, or whether he hoped to find him, like a lion, satiated with blood, he succeeded, however, in his application for the orators, and reconciled Alexander to the city.

When Alexander returned to Macedon, the reputation of Demades, and the other orators of his party, greatly increased ; and that of Demosthenes gradually declined. It is true, he raised his head a little when Agis, king of Sparta, took the field ; but it soon fell again ; for the Athenians refused to join him, Agis was killed in battle, and the Lacedæmonians entirely routed.

About this time* the affair *concerning the crown* came again upon the carpet. The information was first laid under the archonship of Chærondas ; and the cause was not determined till ten years after,† under Aristophon. It was the most celebrated cause that ever was pleaded, as well on account of the reputation of the orators, as the generous behaviour of the judges : for, though the prosecutors of Demosthenes were then in great power, as being entirely in the Macedonian interest, the judges would not give their voices against him ; but, on the contrary, acquitted him so honourably that Æschines had not a fifth part of the suffrages.‡ Æschines immediately quitted Athens, and spent the rest of his days in teaching rhetoric at Rhodes and in Ionia.

It was not long after this that Harpalus came from Asia to Athens.§ He had fled from the service of Alexander, both because he was conscious to himself of having falsified his trust, to minister to his pleasures, and because he dreaded his master, who now was become terrible to his best friends. As he applied to the people of Athens for shelter, and desired protection for his ships and treasures, most of the orators had an eye upon the gold, and supported his application with all their

* Demosthenes rebuilt the walls of Athens at his own expense ; for which the people, at the motion of Ctesiphon, decreed him a crown of gold. This excited the envy and jealousy of Æschines, who thereupon brought that famous impeachment against Demosthenes, which occasioned his inimitable oration *de Corona*.

† Plutarch must be mistaken here. It does not appear upon the exactest calculation to have been more than eight years.

‡ This was a very ignominious circumstance ; for if the accuser had not a fifth part of the suffrages, he was fined 1000 drachmas.

§ Harpalus had the charge of Alexander's treasure in Babylon ; and, flattering himself that he would never return from his Indian expedition, he gave in to all manner of crimes and excesses. At last, when he found that Alexander was really returning, and that he took a severe account of such people as himself, he thought proper to march off with 5000 talents, and 6000 men, into Attica.

interest. Demosthenes at first advised them to order Harpalus off immediately, and to be particularly careful not to involve the city in war again, without any just or necessary cause.

Yet a few days after, when they were taking an account of the treasure, Harpalus perceiving that Demosthenes was much pleased with one of the king's cups, and stood admiring the workmanship and fashion, desired him to take it in his hand, and feel the weight of the gold. Demosthenes being surprised at the weight, and asking Harpalus how much it might bring, he smiled, and said, "It will bring you twenty talents." And as soon as it was night, he sent him the cup with that sum. For Harpalus knew well enough how to distinguish a man's passion for gold, by his pleasure at the sight and the keen looks he cast upon it. Demosthenes could not resist the temptation: it made all the impression upon him that was expected: he received the money, like a garrison, into his house, and went over to the interest of Harpalus. Next day he came into the assembly with a quantity of wool and bandages about his neck; and when the people called upon him to get up and speak, he made signs that he had lost his voice. Upon which some that were by, said it was no common hoarseness that he had got in the night; it was a hoarseness occasioned by swallowing gold and silver. Afterwards, when all the people were apprised of his taking the bribe, and he wanted to speak in his own defence, they would not suffer him, but raised a clamour, and expressed their indignation. At the same time, somebody or other stood up and said sneeringly, "Will you not listen to the man with the cup?"* The Athenians then immediately sent Harpalus off; and fearing they might be called to account for the money with which the orators had been corrupted, they made a strict inquiry after it, and searched all their houses, except that of Callicles the son of Arenides: whom they spared, as Theopompus says, because he was newly married, and his bride was in his house.

At the same time Demosthenes, seemingly with a design to prove his innocence, moved for an order that the affair should be brought before the court of Areopagus, and all persons punished who should be found guilty of taking bribes. In consequence of which, he appeared before that court, and was one of the first that were convicted. Being sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents, and to be imprisoned till it was paid, the

* This alludes to a custom of the ancients at their feasts; wherein it was usual for the cup to pass from hand to hand; and the person who held it sung a song, to which the rest gave attention.

disgrace of his conviction, and the weakness of his constitution, which could not bear close confinement, determined him to fly ; and this he did, undiscovered by some, and assisted by others. It is said, that when he was not far from the city, he perceived some of his late adversaries following,* and endeavoured to hide himself. But they called to him by name : and when they came nearer, desired him to take some necessary supplies of money, which they had brought with them for that purpose. They assured him they had no other design in following ; and exhorted him to take courage. But Demosthenes gave in to more violent expressions of grief than ever, and said, "What comfort can I have, when I leave enemies in this city more generous than it seems possible to find friends in any other?" He bore his exile in a very weak and effeminate manner. For the most part, he resided in Ægina or Trœzene : where, whenever he looked towards Attica, the tears fell from his eyes. In his expressions, there was nothing of a rational firmness ; nothing answerable to the bold things he had said and done in his administration. When he left Athens, we are told, he lifted up his hands towards the citadel, and said, "O Minerva, goddess of those towers, whence is it that thou delightest in three such monsters as an owl, a dragon, and the people?" The young men who resorted to him for instruction he advised by no means to meddle with affairs of state. He told them that, if two roads had been shown him at first, the one leading to the *rostrum* and the business of the assembly, and the other to certain destruction ; and he could have foreseen the evils that awaited him in the political walk, the fears, the envy, the calumny, and contention ; he would have chosen that road which led to immediate death.

During the exile of Demosthenes, Alexander died.† The Greek cities once more combining upon that event, Leosthenes performed great things ; and, among the rest, drew a line of circumvallation around Antipater, whom he had shut up in Lamia: Pytheas the orator, with Callimedon and Carabus, left Athens, and, going over to Antipater, accompanied his friends and ambassadors in their applications to the Greeks, and in persuading them not to desert the Macedonian cause, nor listen to the Athenians. On the other hand, Demosthenes joined the

* It is recorded by Phocius, that Æschines, when he left Athens, was followed in like manner, and assisted by Demosthenes ; and that, when he offered him consolations, he made the same answer. Plutarch likewise mentions this circumstance in the lives of the ten orators.

† Demosthenes was then in his fifty-eight year.

Athenian deputies, and exerted himself greatly with them in exhorting the states to fall with united efforts upon the Macedonians, and drive them out of Greece. Philarchus tells us, that, in one of the cities of Arcadia, Pytheas and Demosthenes spoke with great acrimony; the one in pleading for the Macedonians, and the other for the Greeks. Pytheas is reported to have said, "As some sickness is always supposed to be in the house into which ass's milk is brought; so the city which an Athenian embassy ever enters must necessarily be in a sick and decaying condition." Demosthenes turned the comparison against him by saying, "As ass's milk never enters but for curing the sick; so the Athenians never appear but for remedying some disorder."

The people of Athens were so much pleased with this repartee, that they immediately voted for the recall of Demosthenes. It was Damon the Pæanean, cousin-german to Demosthenes, who drew up the decree. A galley was sent to fetch him from Ægina; and when he came up from the Piræus to Athens, the whole body of the citizens went to meet and congratulate him on his return; insomuch that there was neither a magistrate nor priest left in the town. Demetrius of Magnesia acquaints us, that Demosthenes lifted up his hands towards heaven in thanks for that happy day. "Happier," said he, "is my return than that of Alcibiades. It was through compulsion that the Athenians restored him, but me they have recalled from a motive of kindness."

The fine, however, still remained due: for they could not extend their grace so far as to repeal his sentence. But they found out a method to evade the law, while they seemed to comply with it. It was the custom, in the sacrifices to Jupiter the preserver, to pay the persons who prepared and adorned the altars. They therefore appointed Demosthenes to this charge; and ordered that he should have fifty talents for his trouble, which was the sum his fine amounted to.

But he did not long enjoy his return to his country. The affairs of Greece soon went to ruin. They lost the battle of Crano in the month of August, a Macedonian garrison entered Munychia in September, and Demosthenes lost his life in October.

It happened in the following manner. When news was brought that Antipater and Craterus were coming to Athens, Demosthenes and those of his party hastened to get out privately before their arrival. Hereupon the people, at the motion of Demades, condemned them to death. As they fled

different ways, Antipater sent a company of soldiers about the country to seize them. Archias, surnamed *Phugadotheras*, or *the exile hunter*, was their captain. It is said he was a native of Thurium, and had been some time a tragedian; they add, that Polus of Ægina, who excelled all the actors of his time, was his scholar. Hermippus reckons Archias among the disciples of Lacritus the rhetorician; and Demetrius says he spent some time at the school of Anaximenes. This Archias, however, drew Hyperides the orator, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Himeræus, the brother of Demetrius the Phalerean, out of the temple of Æacus in Ægina, where they had taken refuge, and sent them to Antipater at Cleonæ. There they were executed; and Hyperides is said to have first had his tongue cut out.

Archias being informed that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Calauria, he and his Thracian soldiers passed over to it in row-boats. As soon as he was landed, he went to the orator, and endeavoured to persuade him to quit the temple, and go with him to Antipater; assuring him that he had no hard measure to expect. But it happened that Demosthenes had seen a strange vision the night before. He thought that he was contending with Archias, which could play the tragedian the best; that he succeeded in his action; had the audience on his side, and would certainly have obtained the prize, had not Archias outdone him in the dresses and decorations of the theatre. Therefore, when Archias had addressed him with great appearance of humanity, he fixed his eyes on him, and said, without rising from his seat, "Neither your action moved me formerly, nor do your promises move me now." Archias then began to threaten him; upon which he said, "Before, you acted a part; now you speak as from the Macedonian tripod. Only wait awhile till I have sent my last orders to my family." So saying, he retired into the inner part of the temple; and taking some paper, as if he meant to write, he put the pen in his mouth, and bit it a considerable time, as he used to do when thoughtful about his composition; after which, he covered his head, and put it in a reclining posture. The soldiers who stood at the door, apprehending that he took these methods to put off the fatal stroke, laughed at him, and called him a coward. Archias then approaching him, desired him to rise, and began to repeat the promises of making his peace with Antipater. Demosthenes, who by this time felt the operation of the poison he had taken strong upon him, uncovered his face, and looking upon

Archias, "Now," said he, "you may act the part of Creon* in the play as soon as you please, and cast out this carcass of mine unburied. For my part, O gracious Neptune, I quit thy temple with my breath within me. But Antipater and the Macedonians would not have scrupled to profane it with murder." By this time he could scarcely stand, and therefore desired them to support him. But in attempting to walk out he fell by the altar, and expired with a groan.

Aristo says he sucked the poison from a pen, as we have related it. One Poppus, whose memoirs were recovered by Hiermippus, reports, that, when he fell by the altar, there was found on his paper the beginning of a letter, "Demosthenes to Antipater," and nothing more. He adds, that people being surprised that he died so quickly, the Thracians who stood at the door assured them that he took the poison in his hand out of a piece of cloth, and put it to his mouth. To them it had the appearance of gold. Upon inquiry made by Archias, a young maid who served Demosthenes said, he had long wore that piece of cloth by way of amulet. Eratosthenes tells us, that he kept the poison in the hollow of a bracelet button which he wore upon his arm. Many others have written upon the subject; but it is not necessary to give all their different accounts. We shall only add, that Democharis, a servant of Demosthenes, asserts, that he did not think his death owing to poison, but to the favour of the gods, and a happy providence, which snatched him from the cruelty of the Macedonians by a speedy and easy death. He died on the sixteenth of October, which is the most mournful day in the ceremonies of the *Thesmophoria*.† The women keep it with fasting in the temple of Ceres.

It was not long before the people of Athens paid him the honours that were due to him, by erecting his statue in brass, and decreeing that the eldest of his family should be maintained in the *Prytaneum*, at the public charge. This celebrated inscription was put upon the pedestal of his statue:—

"Divine in speech, in judgment, too, divine,
Had valour's wreath, Demosthenes, been thine,
Fair Greece had still her freedom's ensign borne,
And held the scourge of Macedon in scorn!"

* Alluding to that passage in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, where Creon forbids the body of Polynices to be buried.

† This was an annual festival in honour of Ceres. It began the fourteenth of October, and ended the eighteenth. The third day of the festival was a day of fasting and mortification; and this is the day that Plutarch speaks of.

For no regard is to be paid to those who say that Demosthenes himself uttered these lines in Calauria, just before he took the poison.*

A little before I visited Athens, the following adventure is said to have happened. A soldier being summoned to appear before the commanding officer upon some misdemeanour, put the little gold he had in the hands of the statue of Demosthenes, which were in some measure clenched. A small plane-tree grew by it, and many leaves, either accidentally lodged there by the winds, or purposely so placed by the soldier, covered the gold a considerable time. When he returned and found his money entire, the fame of this accident was spread abroad, and many of the wits of Athens strove which could write the best copy of verses to vindicate Demosthenes from the charge of corruption.

As for Demades, he did not long enjoy the new honours he had acquired. The Being who took it in charge to revenge Demosthenes led him into Macedonia, where he justly perished by the hands of those whom he had basely flattered. They had hated him for some time ; but at last they caught him in a fact which could neither be excused nor pardoned. Letters of his were intercepted, in which he exhorted Perdiccas to seize Macedonia, and deliver Greece, which, he said, hung only by an old rotten stalk, meaning Antipater. Dinarchus, the Corinthian, accusing him of this treason, Cassander was so much provoked, that he stabbed his son in his arms, and afterwards gave orders for his execution. Thus, by the most dreadful misfortunes, he learned that *traitors always first fell themselves* : a truth which Demosthenes had often told him before, but he would never believe it. Such, my Sossius, is the Life of Demosthenes, which we have compiled in the best manner we could, from books and from tradition.

* This inscription, so far from doing Demosthenes honour, is the greatest disgrace that the Athenians could have fastened upon his memory. It reproaches him with a weakness, which, when the safety of his country was at stake, was such a deplorable want of virtue and manhood as no parts or talents could atone for.



CICERO.

THE account we have of Helvia, the mother of Cicero, is, that her family was noble,* and her character excellent. Of his father there is nothing said but in extremes. For some affirm that he was the son of a fuller,† and educated in that trade, while others deduce his origin from Attius Tullus,‡ a prince who governed the Volsci with great reputation. Be that as it may, I think the first of the family who bore the name of Cicero must have been an extraordinary man; and for that reason his posterity did not reject the appellation, but rather took to it with pleasure, though it was a common subject of ridicule: for the Latins call a vetch *cicer*, and he had a flat excrescence on the top of his nose in resemblance of a vetch, from which he got that surname. § As for the Cicero of whom we are writing, his friends advised him, on his first application to business and soliciting one of the great offices of state, to lay aside or change that name. But he answered with great spirit, that he would endeavour to make the name of Cicero more glorious than that of the Scauri and the Catuli. When quæstor in Sicily, he consecrated in one of the temples a vase or some other offering in silver, upon which he inscribed his two first names, *Marcus Tullius*, and, punning upon the third, ordered the artificer to engrave a vetch. Such is the account we have of his name.

He was born on the third of January, || the day on which the magistrates now sacrifice and pay their devotions for the health of the emperor; and it is said that his mother was delivered of him without pain. It is also reported, that a spectre appeared to his nurse, and foretold that the child she had the happiness to attend would one day prove a great benefit to the whole

* Cinna was of this family.

† Dion tells us that Q. Calenus was the author of this calumny. Cicero, in his books *de Legibus*, has said enough to show that both his father and grandfather were persons of property and of a liberal education.

‡ The same prince to whom Coriolanus retired 400 years before.

§ Pliny's account of the origin of this name is more probable. He supposes that the person who first bore it was remarkable for the cultivation of vetches. So Fabius, Lentulus, and Piso had their names from beans, tares, and peas.

|| In the six hundred and forty-seventh year of Rome: 104 years before the Christian era. Pompey was born in the same year.

commonwealth of Rome. These things might have passed for idle dreams, had he not soon demonstrated the truth of the prediction. When he was of a proper age to go to school, his genius broke out with so much lustre, and he gained so distinguished a reputation among the boys, that the fathers of some of them repaired to the schools to see Cicero, and to have specimens of his capacity for literature; but the less civilised were angry with their sons, when they saw them take Cicero in the middle of them as they walked, and always give him the place of honour. He had that turn of genius and disposition which Plato* would have a scholar and philosopher to possess. He had both the capacity and inclination to learn all the arts, nor was there any branch of science that he despised; yet he was most inclined to poetry; and there is still extant a poem, entitled *Pontius Glaucus*,† which was written by him, when a boy, in *tetrameter* verse. In process of time, when he had studied this art with greater application, he was looked upon as the best poet, as well as the greatest orator, in Rome. His reputation for oratory still remains, notwithstanding the considerable changes that have since been made in the language; but, as many ingenious poets have appeared since his time, his poetry has lost its credit, and is now neglected.‡

When he had finished those studies through which boys commonly pass, he attended the lectures of Philo the academician, whom, of all the scholars of Clitomachus, the Romans most admired for his eloquence, and loved for his conduct. At the same time he made great improvement in the knowledge of the law, under Mucius Scævola, an eminent lawyer, and president of the senate. He likewise got a taste of military knowledge under Sylla, in the Marsian war.§ But afterwards, finding the commonwealth engaged in civil wars, which were likely to end in nothing but absolute monarchy, he withdrew to a philosophic

* Plato's Commonwealth, lib. v.

† This Glaucus was a famous fisherman, who, after eating of a certain herb, jumped into the sea, and became one of the gods of that element. Æschylus wrote a tragedy on the subject. Cicero's poem is lost.

Plutarch was a very indifferent judge of the Latin poetry, and his speaking with so much favour of Cicero's, contrary to the opinion of Juvenal and many others, is a strong proof of it. He translated Aratus into verse at the age of seventeen, and wrote a poem in praise of the actions of Marius, which Scævola said would live through innumerable ages. But he was out in his prophecy. It has long been dead. And the poem which he wrote in three books, on his own consulship, has shared the same fate.

§ In the eighteenth year of his age.

and contemplative life ; conversing with men of letters from Greece, and making farther advances in science. This method of life he pursued till Sylla had made himself master, and there appeared to be some established government again.

About this time Sylla ordered the estate of one of the citizens to be sold by auction, in consequence of his being killed as a person proscribed ; when it was struck off to Chrysogonus, Sylla's freedman, at the small sum of 2000 *drachmæ*. Roscius, the son and heir of the deceased, expressed his indignation, and declared that the estate was worth 250 talents. Sylla, enraged at having his conduct thus publicly called in question, brought an action against Roscius for the murder of his father, and appointed Chrysogonus to be the manager. Such was the dread of Sylla's cruelty, that no man offered to appear in defence of Roscius, and nothing seemed left for him but to fall a sacrifice. In this distress he applied to Cicero, and the friends of the young orator desired him to undertake the cause ; thinking he could not have a more glorious opportunity to enter the lists of fame. Accordingly he undertook his defence, succeeded, and gained great applause.* But, fearing Sylla's resentment, he travelled into Greece, and gave out that the recovery of his health was the motive. Indeed, he was of a lean and slender habit, and his stomach was so weak that he was obliged to be very sparing in his diet, and not to eat till a late hour in the day. His voice, however, had a variety of inflexions, but was at the same time harsh and unformed ; and, as in the vehemence and enthusiasm of speaking he always rose into a loud key, there was reason to apprehend that it might injure his health.

When he came to Athens, he heard Antiochus the Ascalonite, and was charmed with the smoothness and grace of his elocution, though he did not approve of his new doctrines in philosophy. For Antiochus had left the *new academy*, as it is called, and the sect of Carneades, either from clear conviction and from the strength of the evidence of sense, or else from a spirit of opposition to the schools of Clitomachus and Philo, and had adopted most of the doctrines of the Stoics. But Cicero loved the *new academy*, and entered more and more into its opinions ; having already taken his resolution, if he failed in his design of rising in the state, to retire from the *forum* and all political intrigues, to Athens, and spend his days in peace in the bosom of philosophy.

* In his twenty-seventh year.

But not long after he received the news of Sylla's death. His body by this time was strengthened by exercise, and brought to a good habit. His voice was formed ; and at the same time that it was full and sonorous, had gained a sufficient sweetness, and was brought to a key which his constitution could bear. Besides, his friends at Rome solicited him by letters to return, and Antiochus exhorted him much to apply himself to public affairs. For which reasons he exercised his rhetorical powers afresh as the best engines for business, and called forth his political talents. In short, he suffered not a day to pass without either declaiming or attending the most celebrated orators. In the prosecution of this design he sailed to Asia and the island of Rhodes. Amongst the rhetoricians of Asia he availed himself of the instructions of Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menippus of Caria. At Rhodes he studied under the rhetorician Apollonius the son of Molo,* and the philosopher Posidonius. It is said that Apollonius, not understanding the Roman language, desired Cicero to declaim in Greek ; and he readily complied, because he thought by that means his faults might the better be corrected. When he had ended his declamation, the rest were astonished at his performance, and strove which should praise him most ; but Apollonius showed no signs of pleasure while he was speaking ; and when he had done, he sat a long time thoughtful and silent. At last, observing the uneasiness it gave his pupil, he said, "As for you, Cicero, I praise and admire you ; but I am concerned for the fate of Greece. She had nothing left her but the glory of eloquence and erudition, and you are carrying that too to Rome."

Cicero now prepared to apply himself to public affairs with great hopes of success : but his spirit received a check from the oracle at Delphi. For upon his inquiring by what means he might rise to the greatest glory, the priestess bade him follow nature, and not take the opinion of the multitude for the guide of his life. Hence it was that after his coming to Rome he acted at first with great caution. He was timorous and backward in applying for public offices, and had the mortification to find himself neglected, and called a *Greek*, a *scholastic* ; terms which the artisans, and others the meanest of the Romans, are very liberal in applying. But, as he was naturally ambitious to honour, and spurred on besides by his father and his friends, he betook himself to the bar. Nor was it by slow and insensible

* Not *Apollonius the son of Molo*, but *Apollonius Molo*. The same mistake is made by our author in the Life of Cæsar.

degrees that he gained the palm of eloquence ; his fame shot forth at once, and he was distinguished above all the orators of Rome. Yet it is said that his turn for action was naturally as defective as that of Demosthenes ; and therefore he took all the advantage he could from the instruction of Roscius, who excelled in comedy, and of Æsop, whose talents lay in tragedy. This Æsop, we are told, when he was one day acting Atreus, in the part where he considers in what manner he should punish Thyestes, being worked up by his passion to a degree of insanity, with his sceptre struck a servant who happened suddenly to pass by, and laid him dead at his feet. In consequence of these helps Cicero found his powers of persuasion not a little assisted by action and just pronounciation. But as for those orators who gave in to a bawling manner, he laughed at them, and said their weakness made them get up into clamour, as lame men get on horseback. His excellence at hitting off a jest or repartee animated his pleadings, and therefore seemed not foreign to the business of the *forum* ; but by bringing it much into life, he offended numbers of people, and got the character of a malevolent man.

He was appointed quæstor at a time when there was a great scarcity of corn ; and having Sicily for his province, he gave the people a great deal of trouble at first, by compelling them to send their corn to Rome. But afterwards, when they came to experience his diligence, his justice, and moderation, they honoured him more than any quæstor that Rome had ever sent them. About that time a number of young Romans of noble families, who lay under the charge of having violated the rules of discipline, and not behaved with sufficient courage in time of service, were sent back to the prætor of Sicily. Cicero undertook their defence, and acquitted himself of it with great ability and success. As he returned to Rome, much elated with these advantages, he tells us * he met with a pleasant adventure. As he was on the road through Campania, meeting with a person of some eminence with whom he was acquainted, he asked him what they said and thought of his actions in Rome, imagining that his name and the glory of his achievements had filled the whole city. His acquaintance answered, "Why, where have you been, then, Cicero, all this time?"

This answer dispirited him extremely ; for he found that the accounts of his conduct had been lost in Rome, as in an immense sea, and had made no remarkable addition to his

* In his oration for Plancius.

reputation. By mature reflection upon this incident, he was brought to retrench his ambition, because he saw that contention for glory was an endless thing, and had neither measure nor bounds to terminate it. Nevertheless, his immoderate love of praise, and his passion for glory, always remained with him, and often interrupted his best and wisest designs.

When he began to dedicate himself more earnestly to public business, he thought that while mechanics knew the name, the place, the use of every tool and instrument they take in their hands, though those things are inanimate, it would be absurd for a statesman, whose functions cannot be performed but by means of men, to be negligent in acquainting himself with the citizens. He therefore made it his business to commit to memory not only their names, but the place of abode of those of greater note, what friends they made use of, and what neighbours were in their circle. So that whatever road in Italy Cicero travelled, he could easily point out the estates and houses of his friends.

Though his own estate was sufficient for his necessities, yet, as it was small, it seemed strange that he would take neither fee nor present for his services at the bar. This was most remarkable in the case of Verres. Verres had been *prætor* in Sicily, and committed numberless acts of injustice and oppression. The Sicilians prosecuted him, and Cicero gained the cause for them, not so much by pleading as by forbearing to plead. The magistrates, in their partiality to Verres, put off the trial by several adjournments to the last day;* and as Cicero knew there was not time for the advocates to be heard, and the matter determined in the usual method, he rose up and said there was no occasion for pleadings. He therefore brought up the witnesses, and after their depositions were taken, insisted that the judges should give their verdict immediately.

Yet we have an account of several humorous sayings of Cicero's in this cause. When an emancipated slave, Cæcilius by name, who was suspected of being a Jew, would have set aside the Sicilians, and taken the prosecution of Verres upon himself,† Cicero said, "What has a Jew to do with swine's flesh?" For the Romans call a boar-pig *verres*. And when Verres reproached Cicero with effeminacy, he answered, "Why do you not first

* Not till the *last* day. Cicero brought it on a *few* days before Verres's friends were to come into office; but of the seven orations which were composed on the occasion, the two first only were delivered. A. U. 683.

† Cicero knew that Cæcilius was secretly a friend to Verres, and wanted by this means to bring him off.

reprove your own children?" For Verres had a young son who was supposed to make an infamous use of his advantages of person. Hortensius the orator did not venture directly to plead the cause of Verres, but he was prevailed on to appear for him at the laying of the fine, and had received an ivory *sphinx* from him by way of consideration. In this case Cicero threw out several enigmatical hints against Hortensius; and when he said he knew not how to solve riddles, Cicero retorted, "That is somewhat strange, when you have a *sphinx* in your house."

Verres being thus condemned, Cicero set his fine at 750,000 *drachmæ*; upon which, it was said by censorious people that he had been bribed to let him off so low.* The Sicilians, however, in acknowledgment of his assistance, brought him when he was ædile a number of things for his games, and other very valuable presents; but he was so far from considering his private advantage that he made no other use of their generosity than to lower the price of provisions.

He had a handsome country seat at Arpinum, a farm near Naples, and another at Pompeii, but neither of them were very considerable. His wife Terentia brought him a fortune of 120,000 *denarii*, and he fell heir to something that amounted to 90,000 more. Upon this he lived in a genteel, and at the same time a frugal manner, with men of letters, both Greeks and Romans, around him. He rarely took his meal before sunset; not that business or study prevented his sitting down to table sooner, but the weakness of his stomach, he thought, required that regimen. Indeed, he was so exact in all respects in the care of his health, that he had his stated hours for rubbing and for the exercise of walking. By this management of his constitution, he gained a sufficient stock of health and strength for the great labours and fatigues he afterwards underwent.

He gave up the town house which belonged to his family to his brother, and took up his residence on the Palatine hill, that those who came to pay their court to him might not have too far to go. For he had a levee every day, not less than Crassus had for his great wealth, or Pompey for his power and interest in the army; though they were the most followed, and the greatest men in Rome. Pompey himself paid all due respect to

* This fine, indeed, was very inconsiderable. The legal fine for extortion, in such cases as that of Verres, was twice the sum extorted. The Sicilians laid a charge of £322,916 against Verres; the fine must therefore have been £645,832, but 750,000 *drachmæ* was no more than £24,218. Plutarch must, therefore, most probably have been mistaken.

Cicero, and found his political assistance very useful to him, both in respect to power and reputation.

When Cicero stood for the prætorship, he had many competitors who were persons of distinction, and yet he was returned first. As a president in the courts of justice, he acted with great integrity and honour. Licinius Macer, who had great interest of his own, and was supported, besides, with that of Crassus, was accused before him of some default with respect to money. He had so much confidence in his own influence and the activity of his friends that, when the judges were going to decide the cause, it is said he went home, cut his hair, and put on a white habit, as if he had gained the victory, and was about to return so equipped to the *forum*. But Crassus met him in the court-yard, and told him that all the judges had given verdict against him ; which affected him in such a manner that he turned in again, took to his bed, and died. Cicero gained honour by this affair, for it appeared that he kept strict watch against corruption in the court.

There was another person, named Vatinius, an insolent orator, who paid very little respect to the judges in his pleadings. It happened that he had his neck full of scrofulous swellings. This man applied to Cicero about some business or other : and as that magistrate did not immediately comply with his request, but sat some time deliberating, he said, " I could easily swallow such a thing if I was prætor ;" upon which Cicero turned towards him, and made answer, " But I have not so large a neck."

When there were only two or three days of his office unexpired, an information was laid against Manilius for embezzling the public money. This Manilius was a favourite of the people, and they thought he was only prosecuted on Pompey's account, being his particular friend. He desired to have a day fixed for his trial ; and, as Cicero appointed the next day, the people were much offended, because it had been customary for the prætors to allow the accused ten days at the least. The tribunes therefore cited Cicero to appear before the commons, and give an account of this proceeding. He desired to be heard in his own defence, which was to this effect : " As I have always behaved to persons impeached with all the moderation and humanity that the laws will allow, I thought it wrong to lose the opportunity of treating Manilius with the same candour. I was master only of one day more in my office of prætor, and consequently must appoint that ; for to leave the decision of the cause to another magistrate was not the method for those who

were inclined to serve Manilius." This made a wonderful change in the minds of the people ; they were lavish in their praises, and desired him to undertake the defence himself. This he readily complied with ; his regard for Pompey, who was absent, not being his least inducement. In consequence hereof, he presented himself before the commons again, and giving an account of the whole affair, took opportunity to make severe reflections on those who favoured oligarchy, and envied the glory of Pompey.

Yet, for the sake of their country, the patricians joined the plebians in raising him to the consulship. The occasion was this. The change which Sylla introduced into the constitution at first seemed harsh and uneasy, but by time and custom it came to an establishment which many thought not a bad one. At present there were some who wanted to bring in another change, merely to gratify their own avarice, and without the least view to the public good. Pompey was engaged with the kings of Pontus and Armenia, and there was no force in Rome sufficient to suppress the authors of this intended innovation. They had a chief of a bold and enterprising spirit, and the most remarkable versatility of manners ; his name Lucius Catiline. Besides a variety of other crimes, he was accused of debauching his own daughter, and killing his own brother. To screen himself from prosecution for the latter, he persuaded Sylla to put his brother among the proscribed, as if he had been still alive. These profligates, with such a leader, among other engagements of secrecy and fidelity, sacrificed a man, and ate of his flesh. Catiline had corrupted great part of the Roman youth by indulging their desires in every form of pleasure, providing them wine and women, and setting no bounds to his expenses for these purposes. All Tuscany was prepared for the revolt, and most of Cisalpine Gaul. The vast inequality of the citizens in point of property prepared Rome too for a change. Men of spirit amongst the nobility had impoverished themselves by their great expenses on public exhibitions and entertainments, on bribing for offices, and erecting magnificent buildings ; by which means the riches of the city were fallen into the hands of mean people ; in this tottering state of the commonwealth there needed no great force to upset it, and it was in the power of any bold adventurer to accomplish its ruin.

Catiline, however, before he began his operations, wanted a strong fort to sally out from, and with that view stood for the consulship. His prospect seemed very promising, because he hoped to have Caius Antonius for his colleague ; a man who

had no firm principles, either good or bad, nor any resolution of his own, but would make a considerable addition to the power of him that led him. Many persons of virtue and honour, perceiving this danger, put up Cicero for the consulship, and the people accepted him with pleasure. Thus Catiline was baffled, and Cicero* and Caius Antonius appointed consuls; though Cicero's father was only of the equestrian order, and his competitors of patrician families.

Catiline's designs were not yet discovered to the people. Cicero, however, at his entrance upon his office, had great affairs on his hands, the preludes of what was to follow. On the one hand, those who had been incapacitated by the laws of Sylla to bear offices, being neither inconsiderable in power nor in number, began now to solicit them, and make all possible interest with the people. It is true, they alleged many just and good arguments against the tyranny of Sylla, but it was an unseasonable time to give the administration so much trouble. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people proposed laws which had the same tendency to distress the government; for they wanted to appoint decemvirs, and invest them with an unlimited power. This was to extend over all Italy, over Syria, and all the late conquests of Pompey. They were to be commissioned to sell the public lands in these countries; to judge or banish whom they pleased; to plant colonies; to take money out of the public treasury; to levy and keep on foot what troops they thought necessary. Many Romans of high distinction were pleased with the bill, and in particular Antony, Cicero's colleague, for he hoped to be one of the ten. It was thought, too, that he was no stranger to Catiline's designs, and that he did not disrelish them on account of his great debts. This was an alarming circumstance to all who had the good of their country at heart.

This danger, too, was the first that Cicero guarded against; which he did by getting the province of Macedonia decreed to Antony, and not taking that of Gaul which was allotted to himself. Antony was so much affected with this favour, that he was ready, like a hired player, to act a subordinate part under Cicero for the benefit of his country. Cicero having thus managed his colleague, began with greater courage to take his measures against the seditious party. He alleged his objections against the law in the senate, and effectually silenced the proposers.† They took another opportunity, however, and coming prepared,

* In his forty-third year.

† This was the first of his three orations *de Lege Agraria*.

insisted that the consuls should appear before the people. Cicero, not in the least intimidated, commanded the senate to follow him. He addressed the commons with such success, that they threw out the bill ; and his victorious eloquence had such an effect upon the tribunes, that they gave up other things which they had been meditating.

He was indeed the man who most effectually showed the Romans what charms eloquence can add to truth, and that justice is invincible when properly supported. It showed also, that a magistrate who watches for the good of the community should in his actions always prefer right to popular measures, and in his speeches know how to make those right measures agreeable, by separating from them whatever may offend. Of the grace and power with which he spoke, we have a proof in a theatrical regulation that took place in his consulship. Before, those of the equestrian order sat mixed with the commonalty. Marcus Otho, in his prætorship, was the first who separated the knights from the other citizens, and appointed them seats which they still enjoy.* The people looked upon this as a mark of dishonour, and hissed and insulted Otho when he appeared at the theatre. The knights, on the other hand, received him with loud plaudits. The people repeated their hissing, and the knights their applause ; till at last they came to mutual reproaches, and threw the whole theatre into the utmost disorder. Cicero being informed of the disturbance, came and called the people to the temple of Bellona ; where, partly by reproof, partly by lenient applications, he so corrected them, that they returned to the theatre, loudly testified their approbation of Otho's conduct, and strove with the knights which should do him the most honour.

Catiline's conspiracy, which at first had been intimidated and discouraged, began to recover its spirits. The accomplices assembled, and exhorted each other to begin their operations with vigour, before the return of Pompey, who was said to be already marching homewards with his forces. But Catiline's chief motive for action was the dependence he had on Sylla's veterans. Though these were scattered all over Italy, the greatest and most warlike part resided in the cities of Etruria, and in idea were plundering and sharing the wealth of Italy again. They had Manlius for their leader, a man who had served with great distinction under Sylla ; and now entering into Catiline's views, they came to Rome to assist in the approaching election ;

* About four years before, under the consulship of Piso and Glabrio. But Otho was not then prætor. He was tribune.

for he solicited the consulship again, and had resolved to kill Cicero in the tumult of that assembly.

The gods seemed to presignify the machinations of these incendiaries by earthquakes, thunders, and apparitions. There were also intimations from men, true enough in themselves, but not sufficient for the conviction of a person of Catiline's quality and power. Cicero, therefore, adjourned the day of election; and having summoned Catiline before the senate, examined him upon the informations he had received. Catiline, believing there were many in the senate who wanted a change, and at the same time being desirous to show his resolution to his accomplices who were present, answered with a calm firmness: "As there are two bodies, one of which is feeble and decayed, but has a head; the other strong and robust, but is without a head; what harm am I doing, if I give a head to the body that wants it?" By these enigmatical expressions he meant the senate and the people. Consequently Cicero was still more alarmed. On the day of election he put on a coat of mail; the principal persons in Rome conducted him from his house, and great numbers of the youth attended him to the *Campus Martius*. There he threw back his robe, and showed part of the coat of mail, on purpose to point out his danger. The people were incensed, and immediately gathered about him; the consequence of which was, that Catiline was thrown out again, and Silanus and Murena chosen consuls.

Not long after this, when the veterans were assembling for Catiline in Etruria, and the day appointed for carrying the plot into execution approached, three of the first and greatest personages in Rome, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio, went and knocked at Cicero's door about midnight; and having called the porter, bade him awake his master, and tell him who attended. Their business was this: Crassus's porter brought him in a packet of letters after supper, which he had received from a person unknown. They were directed to different persons, and there was one for Crassus himself, but without a name. This only Crassus read; and when he found that it informed him of a great massacre intended by Catiline, and warned him to retire out of the city, he did not open the rest, but immediately went to wait on Cicero; for he was not only terrified at the impending danger, but he had some suspicions to remove which had arisen from his acquaintance with Catiline. Cicero having consulted with them what was proper to be done, assembled the senate at break of day, and delivered the letters according to the directions, desiring at

the same time that they might be read in public. They all gave the same account of the conspiracy.

Quintus Arrius, a man of prætorian dignity, moreover, informed the senate of the levies that had been made in Etruria, and assured them that Manlius, with a considerable force, was hovering about those parts, and only waiting for news of an insurrection in Rome. On these informations, the senate made a decree, by which all affairs were committed to the consuls, and they were empowered to act in the manner they should think best for the preservation of the commonwealth. This is an edict which the senate seldom issue, and never but in some great and imminent danger.

When Cicero was invested with this power, he committed the care of things without the city to Quintus Metellus, and took the direction of all within to himself. He made his appearance every day attended and guarded by such a multitude of people, that they filled great part of the forum. Catiline, unable to bear any longer delay, determined to repair to Manlius and his army; and ordered Marcus and Cethegus to take their swords and go to Cicero's house early in the morning, where, under pretence of paying their compliments, they were to fall upon him and kill him. But Fulvia, a woman of quality, went to Cicero in the night to inform him of his danger, and charged him to be on his guard in particular against Cethegus. As soon as it was light, the assassins came, and being denied entrance, they grew very insolent and clamorous, which made them the more suspected.

Cicero went out afterwards, and assembled the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, which stands at the entrance of the *Via Sacra*, in the way to the Palatine hill. Catiline came among the rest, as with a design to make his defence; but there was not a senator who would sit by him; they all left the bench he had taken; and when he began to speak, they interrupted him in such a manner that he could not be heard.

At length Cicero rose up, and commanded him to depart the city; "for," said he, "while I employ only words, and you weapons, there should at least be walls between us." Catiline, upon this, immediately marched out with 300 men well armed, and with the fasces and other ensigns of authority, as if he had been a lawful magistrate. In this form he went to Manlius, and having assembled an army of 20,000 men, he marched to the cities, in order to persuade them to revolt. Hostilities having thus openly commenced, Antony, Cicero's colleague, was sent against Catiline.

Such as Catiline had corrupted, and thought proper to leave in Rome, were kept together and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus, surnamed Sura, a man of noble birth, but bad life. He had been expelled the senate for his debaucheries, but was then prætor the second time ; for that was a customary qualification when ejected persons were to be restored to their places in the senate.* As to the surname of Sura, it is said to have been given him on this occasion. When he was quæstor in the time of Sylla, he had lavished away vast sums of the public money. Sylla, incensed at his behaviour, demanded an account of him in full senate. Lentulus came up in a very careless and disrespectful manner, and said, "I have no account to give, but I present you with the calf of my leg ;" which was a common expression among the boys, when they missed their stroke at tennis. Hence he had the surname of *Sura*, which is the Roman word for the calf of the leg. Another time, being prosecuted for some great offence, he corrupted the judges. When they had given their verdict, though he was acquitted only by a majority of two, he said he had put himself to a needless expense in bribing one of those judges, for it would have been sufficient to have had a majority of one.

Such was the disposition of this man, who had not only been solicited by Catiline, but was moreover infatuated with vain hopes, which prognosticators and other impostors held up to him. They forged verses in an oracular form, and brought him them as from the books of the Sibyls. These lying prophecies signified the decree of fate, that three of the Corneliî would be monarchs of Rome. They added, that two had already fulfilled their destiny, Cinna and Sylla ; that he was the third Cornelius whom the gods now offered the monarchy ; and that he ought by all means to embrace his high fortune, and not ruin it by delays, as Catiline had done.

Nothing little or trivial now entered into the schemes of Lentulus. He resolved to kill the whole senate, and as many of the other citizens as he possibly could ; to burn the city, and to spare none but the sons of Pompey, whom he intended to seize and keep as pledges of his peace with that general ; for by this time it was strongly reported that he was on his return from his great expedition. The conspirators had fixed on a night during the feast of the *Saturnalia* for the execution of their enterprise. They had lodged arms and combustible

* When a Roman senator was expelled, an appointment to prætorial office was a sufficient qualification for him to resume his seat.—DION. l. xxxvii.

matter in the house of Cethegus. They had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and pitched upon the same number of men, each of whom was allotted his quarter to set fire to. As this was to be done by them all at the same moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general; others were to intercept the water, and kill all that went to seek it.

While these things were preparing, there happened to be at Rome two ambassadors from the Allobroges, a nation that had been much oppressed by the Romans, and was very impatient under their yoke. Lentulus and his party thought these ambassadors proper persons to raise commotions in Gaul, and bring that country to their interest, and therefore made them partners in the conspiracy. They likewise charged them with letters to their magistrates and to Catiline. To the Gauls they promised liberty, and they desired Catiline to enfranchise the slaves, and march immediately to Rome. Along with the ambassadors they sent one Titus of Crotona to carry the letters to Catiline. But the measures of these inconsiderate men, who generally consulted upon their affairs over their wine and in company with women, were soon discovered by the indefatigable diligence, the sober address, and great capacity of Cicero. He had his emissaries in all parts of the city, to trace every step they took; and had, besides, a secret correspondence with many who pretended to join in the conspiracy; by which means he got intelligence of their treating with those strangers.

In consequence hereof, he laid an ambush for the Crotonian in the night, and seized him and the letters; the ambassadors themselves privately lending him their assistance.* Early in the morning he assembled the senate in the temple of *Concord*, where he read the letters, and took the depositions of the witnesses. Junius Silanus deposed, that several persons had heard Cethegus say that three consuls and four prætors would very soon be killed. The evidence of Piso, a man of consular dignity, contained circumstances of the like nature. And Caius Sulpitius, one of the prætors, who was sent to Cethegus's house, found there a great quantity of javelins, swords, poniards, and other arms, all new furbished. At last the senate giving the Crotonian a promise of indemnity, Lentulus saw himself entirely detected, and laid down his office (for he was then

* These ambassadors had been solicited by Umbrenus to join his party. Upon mature deliberation they thought it safest to abide by the state and discovered the plot to Fabius Sanga, the patron of their nation.

prætor); he put off his purple robe in the house, and took another more suitable to his present distress. Upon which, both he and his accomplices were delivered to the prætors, to be kept in custody, but not in chains.

By this time it grew late, and as the people were waiting without in great numbers for the event of the day, Cicero went out and gave them an account of it. After which, they conducted him to the house of a friend who lived in his neighbourhood; his own being taken up with the women, who were then employed in the mysterious rites of the goddess whom the Romans call *Bona* or the *Good*, and the Greeks *Gynecea*. An annual sacrifice is offered her in the consul's house by his wife and mother, and the vestal virgins give their attendance. When Cicero was retired to the apartments assigned him, with only a few friends, he began to consider what punishment he should inflict upon the criminals. He was extremely loath to proceed to a capital one, which the nature of their offence seemed to demand, as well by reason of the mildness of his disposition, as for fear of incurring the censure of making an extravagant and severe use of his power against men who were of the first families, and had powerful connections in Rome. On the other side, if he gave them a more gentle chastisement, he thought he should still have something to fear from them. He knew that they would never rest with anything less than death, but would rather break out into the most desperate villainies, when their former wickedness was sharpened with anger and resentment. Besides, he might himself be branded with the marks of timidity and weakness, and the rather because he was generally supposed not to have much courage.

Before Cicero could come to a resolution, the women who were sacrificing observed an extraordinary presage: When the fire on the altar seemed to be extinguished, a strong and bright flame suddenly broke out of the embers. The other women were terrified at the prodigy, but the vestal virgins ordered Terentia, Cicero's wife, to go to him immediately, and command him, from them, boldly to follow his best judgment in the service of his country; because the goddess, by the brightness of this flame, promised him not only safety but glory in his enterprise. Terentia was by no means of a meek and timorous disposition, but had her ambition, and (as Cicero himself says) took a greater share with him in politics than she permitted him to have in domestic business. She now informed him of the prodigy, and exasperated him against the criminals. His brother Quintus, and Publius Nigidius, one of his philosophical

friends, whom he made great use of in the administration, strengthened him in the same purpose.

Next day the senate met to deliberate on the punishment of the conspirators, and Silanus, being first asked his opinion, gave it for sending them to prison, and punishing them in the severest manner that was possible. The rest in their order agreed with him, till it came to Caius Cæsar, who was afterwards dictator. Cæsar, then a young man, and just in the dawn of power, both in his measures and his hopes, was taking that road which he continued in, till he turned the Roman commonwealth into a monarchy. This was not observed by others, but Cicero had strong suspicions of him. He took care, however, not to give him a sufficient handle against him. Some say the consul had almost got the necessary proofs, and that Cæsar had a narrow escape. Others assert that Cicero purposely neglected the informations that might have been had against him, for fear of his friends and his great interest. For, had Cæsar been brought under the same predicament with the conspirators, it would rather have contributed to save than to destroy them.

When it came to his turn to give judgment, he rose and declared not for punishing them capitally, but for confiscating their estates, and lodging them in any of the towns of Italy that Cicero should pitch upon, where they might be kept in chains till Catiline was conquered.* To this opinion, which was on the merciful side, and supported with great eloquence by him who gave it, Cicero himself added no small weight; for in his speech he gave the arguments at large for both opinions, first for the former, and afterwards for that of Cæsar. And all Cicero's friends, thinking it would be less invidious for him to avoid putting the criminals to death, were for the latter sentence; insomuch that even Silanus changed sides, and excused himself by saying that he did not mean capital punishment, for that imprisonment was the severest which a Roman senator could suffer.

The matter thus went on till it came to Lutatius Catulus. He declared for capital punishment; and Cato supported him, expressing in strong terms his suspicions of Cæsar; which so roused the spirit and indignation of the senate, that they made a decree for sending the conspirators to execution. Cæsar then opposed the confiscating their goods; for he said it was

* Plutarch seems here to intimate, that after the defeat of Catiline they might be put upon their trial; but it appears from Sallust that Cæsar had no such intention.

unreasonable, when they rejected the mild part of his sentence, to adopt the severe. As the majority still insisted upon it, he appealed to the tribunes. The tribunes, indeed, did not put in their prohibition, but Cicero himself gave up the point, and agreed that the goods should not be forfeited.

After this, Cicero went at the head of the senate to the criminals, who were not all lodged in one house, but in those of the several prætors. First he took Lentulus from the Palatine hill, and led him down the *Via Sacra*, and through the middle of the *forum*. The principal persons in Rome attended the consul on all sides, like a guard; the people stood silent at the horror of the scene; and the youth looked on with fear and astonishment, as if they were initiated that day in some awful ceremonies of aristocratic power. When he had passed the *forum*, and was come to the prison, he delivered Lentulus to the executioner. Afterwards he brought Cethegus, and all the rest in their order, and they were put to death. In his return he saw others who were in the conspiracy standing thick in the *forum*. As these knew not the fate of their ringleaders, they were waiting for night, in order to go to their rescue, for they supposed them yet alive. Cicero, therefore, called out to them aloud, "They did live." The Romans, who choose to avoid all inauspicious words, in this manner express death.

By this time it grew late, and as he passed through the *forum* to go to his own house, the people now did not conduct him in a silent and orderly manner, but crowded to hail him with loud acclamations and plaudits, calling him *the saviour and second founder of Rome*. The streets were illuminated * with a multitude of lamps and torches placed by the doors. The women held out lights from the tops of the houses, that they might behold, and pay a proper compliment to the man who was followed with solemnity by a train of the greatest men in Rome, most of whom had distinguished themselves by successful wars, led up triumphs, and enlarged the empire both by sea and land. All these, in their discourse with each other as they went along, acknowledged that Rome was indebted to many generals and great men of that age for pecuniary acquisitions, for rich spoils, for power; but for preservation and safety to Cicero alone, who had rescued her from so great and dreadful a danger. Not that his quashing the enterprise, and punishing the delinquents, appeared so extraordinary a thing; but the wonder was that he

* Illuminations are of high antiquity. They came originally from the nocturnal celebration of religious mysteries; and on that account carried the idea of veneration and respect with them.

could suppress the greatest conspiracy that ever existed, with so little inconvenience to the state, without the least sedition or tumult. For many who had joined Catiline left him on receiving intelligence of the fate of Lentulus and Cethegus; and that traitor, giving Antony battle with the troops that remained, was destroyed with his whole army.

Yet some were displeased with this conduct and success of Cicero, and inclined to do him all possible injury. At the head of this faction were some of the magistrates for the ensuing year; Cæsar, who was to be prætor, and Metellus and Bestia, tribunes. These last, entering upon their office a few days before that of Cicero's expired, would not suffer him to address the people. They placed their own benches on the *rostra*, and only gave him permission to take the oath upon laying down his office,* after which he was to descend immediately. Accordingly, when Cicero went up, it was expected that he would take the customary oath; but silence being made, instead of the usual form, he adopted one that was new and singular. The purport of it was, that he had saved his country, and preserved the empire; and all the people joined in it.

This exasperated Cæsar and the tribunes still more, and they endeavoured to create him new troubles. Among other things they proposed a decree for calling Pompey home with his army to suppress the despotic power of Cicero. It was happy for him, and for the whole commonwealth, that Cato was then one of the tribunes; for he opposed them with an authority equal to theirs, and a reputation that was much greater, and consequently broke their measures with ease. He made a set speech upon Cicero's consulship, and represented it in so glorious a light that the highest honours were decreed him, and he was called *the father of his country*; a mark of distinction which none ever gained before. Cato bestowed that title on him before the people, and they confirmed it.†

His authority in Rome at that time was undoubtedly great; but he rendered himself obnoxious and burdensome to many, not by any ill action, but by continually praising and magnifying himself. He never entered the senate, the assembly of the people, or the courts of judicature, but Catiline and Lentulus were the burden of his song. Not satisfied with this, his

* The consuls took two oaths; one, on entering into their office, that they would act according to the laws; and the other, on quitting it, that they had not acted contrary to the laws.

† Q. Caius was the first who gave him the title. Cato, as tribune, confirmed it before the people,

writings were so interlarded with encomiums on himself, that though his style was elegant and delightful, his discourses were disgusting and nauseous to the reader ; for the blemish stuck to him like an incurable disease.

But though he had such an insatiable avidity of honour, he was never unwilling that others should have their share. For he was entirely free from envy ; and it appears from his works that he was most liberal in his praises, not only of the ancients, but of those of his own time. Many of his remarkable sayings, too, of this nature, are preserved. Thus of Aristotle, he said that he was a river of flowing gold ; and of Plato's dialogues, that if Jupiter were to speak, he would speak as he did. Theophrastus he used to call his particular favourite ; and being asked which of Demosthenes's orations he thought the best, he answered, "The longest." Some who affect to be zealous admirers of that orator, complain, indeed, of Cicero's saying, in one of his epistles, that Demosthenes sometimes nodded in his orations : but they forget the many great encomiums he bestowed on him in other parts of his works ; and do not consider that he gave the title of *Philippics* to his orations against Mark Antony, which were the most elaborate he ever wrote. There was not one of his contemporaries celebrated either for his eloquence or philosophy, whose fame he did not promote, either by speaking or writing of him in an advantageous manner. He persuaded Cæsar, when dictator, to grant Cratippus the Peripatetic the freedom of Rome. He likewise prevailed upon the council of Areopagus to make out an order for desiring him to remain at Athens to instruct the youth, and not deprive their city of such an ornament. There are, moreover, letters of Cicero's to Herodes, and others to his son, in which he directs them to study philosophy under Cratippus. But he accuses Gorgias the rhetorician of accustoming his son to a life of pleasure and intemperance, and therefore forbids the young man his society. Amongst his Greek letters, this, and another to Pelops the Byzantine, are all that discover anything of resentment. His reprimand to Gorgias certainly was right and proper, if he was the dissolute man that he passed for ; but he betrays an excessive meanness in his expostulations with Pelops, for neglecting to procure him certain honours from the city of Byzantium.

These were the effects of his vanity. Superior keenness of expression, too, which he had at command, led him into many violations of decorum. He pleaded for Munatius in a certain cause ; and his client was acquitted in consequence of his

defence. Afterwards Munatius prosecuted Sabinus, one of Cicero's friends ; upon which he was so much transported with anger as to say, "Thinkest thou it was the merit of thy cause that saved thee, and not rather the cloud which I threw over thy crimes, and which kept them from the sight of the court?" He had succeeded in an encomium on Marcus Crassus from the *rostrum* ; and a few days after as publicly reproached him. "What !" said Crassus, "did you not lately praise me in the place where you now stand?" "True ;" answered Cicero, "but I did it by way of experiment, to see what I could make of a bad subject." Crassus had once affirmed, that none of his family ever lived above threescore years : but afterwards wanted to contradict it, and said, "What could I have been thinking of when I asserted such a thing!" "You knew," said Cicero, "that such an assertion would be very agreeable to the people of Rome." Crassus happened one day to profess himself much pleased with that maxim of the Stoics, "The good man is always rich." "I imagine," said Cicero, "there is another more agreeable to you, All things belong to the prudent." For Crassus was notoriously covetous. Crassus had two sons, one of which resembled a man called Accius so much that his mother was suspected of an intrigue with him. This young man spoke in the senate with great applause ; and Cicero being asked what he thought of him, answered in Greek, *axios Crassou*.* When Crassus was going to set out for Syria, he thought it better to leave Cicero his friend than his enemy ; and therefore addressed him one day in an obliging manner, and told him he would come and sup with him. Cicero accepted the offer with equal politeness. A few days after, Vatinius likewise applied to him by his friends, and desired a reconciliation. "What !" said Cicero, "does Vatinius too want to sup with me?" Such were his jests upon Crassus. Vatinius had scrofulous tumours in his neck ; and one day when he was pleading, Cicero called him a *tumid* orator. An account was once brought Cicero that Vatinius was dead, which being afterwards contradicted, he said, "May vengeance seize the tongue that told the lie !" When Cæsar proposed a decree for distributing the lands in Campania among the soldiers, many of the senators were displeased at it ; and Lucius Gellius, in particular, who was one of the oldest of them, said, "That shall never be while I live." "Let us wait awhile, then," said Cicero ; "for Gellius requires no very long credit." There was one Octavius, who had it objected to him

* An ill-mannered pun, which signifies either that the young man was worthy of Crassus, or that he was the son of Accius.

that he was an African. One day when Cicero was pleading, this man said he could not hear him. "That is something strange," said Cicero; "for you are not without a hole in your ear."* When Metellus Nepos told him that he had ruined more as an evidence than he had saved as an advocate: "I grant it," said Cicero, "for I have more truth than eloquence." A young man, who lay under the imputation of having given his father a poisoned cake, talking in an insolent manner, and threatening that Cicero should feel the weight of his reproaches, Cicero answered, "I had much rather have them than your cake." Publius Sestius had taken Cicero, among others, for his advocate, in a cause of some importance; and yet he would suffer no man to speak but himself. When it appeared that he would be acquitted, and the judges were giving their verdict, Cicero called to him, and said, "Sestius, make the best use of your time to-day, for to-morrow you will be out of office."† Publius Cotta, who affected to be thought an able lawyer, though he had neither learning nor capacity, being called in as a witness in a certain cause, declared he knew nothing of the matter. "Perhaps," said Cicero, "you think I am asking you some question in law." Metellus Nepos, in some difference with Cicero, often asking him, "Who is your father?" he replied, "Your mother has made it much more difficult for you to answer that question." For his mother had not the most unsullied reputation. This Metellus was himself a man of a light unbalanced mind. He suddenly quitted the tribunitial office, and sailed to Pompey in Syria; and when he was there, he returned in a manner still more absurd. When his preceptor Philagrus died, he buried him in a pompous manner, and placed the figure of a crow in marble on his monument.‡ "This," said Cicero, "was one of the wisest things you ever did; for your preceptor has taught you rather to fly than to speak."§ Marcus Appius having mentioned, in the introduction to one of his pleadings, that his friend had desired him to try every resource of care, eloquence, and fidelity in his cause,

* A mark of slavery amongst some nations; but the Africans wore pendants in their ears by way of ornament.

† Probably Sestius, not being a professed advocate, would not be employed to speak for anybody else; and therefore Cicero meant that he should indulge his vanity in speaking for himself.

‡ It was usual among the ancients to place emblematic figures on the monuments of the dead; and these were either such instruments as represented the profession of the deceased, or such animals as resembled them in disposition.

§ Alluding to the celerity of his expeditions.

Cicero said, "What a hard-hearted man you are, not to do any one thing that your friend has desired of you!"

It seems not foreign to the business of an orator to use this cutting raillery against enemies or opponents; but his employing it indiscriminately, merely to raise a laugh, rendered him extremely obnoxious. To give a few instances: He used to call Marcus Acquilius *Adrastus*, because he had two sons-in-law who were both in exile.* Lucius Cotta, a great lover of wine, was censor when Cicero solicited the consulship. Cicero, in the course of his canvass, happening to be thirsty, called for water, and said to his friends who stood round him as he drank, "You do well to conceal me, for you are afraid that the censor will call me to account for drinking water." Meeting Voconius one day with three daughters, who were very plain women, he cried out—

"On this conception Phœbus never smiled." †

Marcus Gellius, who was supposed to be of servile extraction, happening to read some letters in the senate with a loud and strong voice, "Do not be surprised at it," said Cicero, "for there have been public criers in his family." Faustus, the son of Sylla the dictator, who had proscribed great numbers of Romans, having run deep in debt, and wasted great part of his estate, was obliged to put up public bills for the sale of it. Upon which Cicero said, "I like these bills much better than his father's."

Many hated him for these keen sarcasms; which encouraged Clodius and his faction to form their schemes against him. The occasion was this: Clodius, who was of a noble family, young and adventurous, entertained a passion for Pompeia, the wife of Cæsar. This induced him to get privately into the house, which he did in the habit of a female musician. The women were offering in Cæsar's house that mysterious sacrifice which is kept from the sight and knowledge of men. But, though no man is suffered to assist in it, Clodius, who was very young, and had his face yet smooth, hoped to pass through the women to Pompeia undiscovered. As he entered a great house in the night, he was puzzled to find his way; and one of the women belonging to Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, seeing him wandering up and down, asked him his name. Being now forced to speak, he said he was seeking Abra, one of Pompeia's maids. The

* Because Adrastus had married his daughters to Eteocles and Polynices, who were exiled.

† A verse of Sophocles, speaking of Laius the father of Œdipus.

woman, perceiving it was not a female voice, shrieked out, and called the matrons together. They immediately made fast the doors, and, searching the whole house, found Clodius skulking in the apartment of the maid who introduced him.

As the affair made a great noise, Cæsar divorced Pompeia, and prosecuted Clodius for that act of impiety. Cicero was at that time his friend ; for, during the conspiracy of Catiline, he had been ready to give him all the assistance in his power ; and even attended as one of his guards. Clodius insisted, in his defence, that he was not then at Rome, but at a considerable distance in the country. But Cicero attested that he came that very day to his house, and talked with him about some particular business. This was, indeed, matter of fact ; yet probably it was not so much the influence of truth, as the necessity of satisfying his wife Terentia, that induced him to declare it. She hated Clodius on account of his sister Clodia ; for she was persuaded that that lady wanted to get Cicero for her husband ; and that she managed the design by one Tullus. As Tullus was an intimate friend of Cicero's, and likewise constantly paid his court to Clodia, who was his neighbour, that circumstance strengthened her suspicions. Besides, Terentia was a woman of an imperious temper, and, having an ascendant over her husband, she put him upon giving evidence against Clodius. Many other persons of honour alleged against him the crimes of perjury, of fraud, of bribing the people, and corrupting the women. Nay, Lucullus brought his maid-servants to prove that Clodius had a criminal commerce with his own sister, who was the wife of that nobleman. This was the youngest of the sisters. And it was generally believed that he had connections of the same kind with his other sisters ; one of which, named Tertia, was married to Martius Rex ; and the other, Clodia, to Metellus Celer. The latter was called *Quadrantaria*, because one of her lovers palmed upon her a purse of small brass money, instead of silver ; the smallest brass coin being called a *quadrans*. It was on this sister's account that Clodius was most censured. As the people set themselves both against the witnesses and the prosecutors, the judges were so terrified that they thought it necessary to place a guard about the court ; and most of them confounded the letters upon the tablets. He seemed, however, to be acquitted by the majority ; but it was said to be through pecuniary applications. Hence Catulus, when he met the judges, said, " You were right in desiring a guard for your defence ; for you were afraid that somebody would take the money from you." And when Clodius told

Cicero that the judges did not give credit to his deposition ; " Yes," said he, " five-and-twenty of them believed me, for so many condemned you ; nor did the other thirty believe you, for they did not acquit you till they had received your money." As to Cæsar, when he was called upon, he gave no testimony against Clodius ; nor did he affirm that he was certain of any injury done to his bed. He only said he had divorced Pompeia, because the wife of Cæsar ought not only to be clear of such a crime, but of the very suspicion of it.

After Clodius had escaped this danger, and was elected tribune of the people, he immediately attacked Cicero, and left neither circumstance nor person untried to ruin him. He gained the people by laws that flattered their inclinations, and the consuls by decreeing them large and wealthy provinces ; for Piso was to have Macedonia, and Gabinius Syria. He registered many mean and indigent persons as citizens ; and armed a number of slaves for his constant attendants. Of the great triumvirate, Crassus was an avowed enemy to Cicero. Pompey indifferently caressed both parties, and Cæsar was going to set out upon his expedition to Gaul. Though the latter was not his friend, but rather suspected of enmity since the affair of Catiline, it was to him that he applied. The favour he asked of him was, that he would take him as his lieutenant ; and Cæsar granted it.* Clodius perceiving that Cicero would, by this means, get out of the reach of his tribunitial power, pretended to be inclined to a reconciliation. He threw most of the blame of the late difference on Terentia ; and spoke always of Cicero in terms of candour, not like an adversary vindictively inclined, but as one friend might complain of another. This removed Cicero's fears so entirely† that he gave up the lieutenantancy which Cæsar had indulged him with, and began to attend to business as before.

Cæsar was so much piqued at this proceeding, that he encouraged Clodius against him, and drew off Pompey entirely from his interest. He declared, too, before the people, that Cicero, in his opinion, had been guilty of a flagrant violation of all justice and law, in putting Lentulus and Cethegus to death, without any form of trial. This was the charge which he was summoned to answer. Cicero then put on mourning, let his

* Cicero says that this lieutenantancy was a voluntary offer of Cæsar's.—*Ep. ad Att.*

† It does not appear that Cicero was influenced by this conduct of Clodius ; he had always expressed an indifference to the lieutenantancy that was offered to him by Cæsar.—*Ep. ad Att.* l. ii. c. 18.

hair grow, and, with every token of distress, went about to supplicate the people. Clodius took care to meet him everywhere in the streets, with his audacious and insolent crew, who insulted him on his change of dress, and often disturbed his applications by pelting him with dirt and stones. However, almost all the equestrian order went into mourning with him; and no fewer than 20,000 young men, of the best families, attended him with their hair dishevelled, and entreated the people for him. Afterwards the senate met, with an intent to decree that the people should change their habits, as in times of public mourning. But, as the consuls opposed it, and Clodius beset the house with his armed band of ruffians, many of the senators ran out, rending their garments, and exclaiming against the outrage.

But this spectacle excited neither compassion nor shame; and it appeared that Cicero must either go into exile, or decide the dispute with the sword. In this extremity he applied to Pompey for assistance; but he had purposely absented himself, and remained at his Alban villa. Cicero first sent his son-in-law Piso to him, and afterwards went himself. When Pompey was informed of his arrival, he could not bear to look him in the face. He was confounded at the thought of an interview with his injured friend, who had fought such battles for him, and rendered him so many services in the course of his administration. But being now son-in-law to Cæsar, he sacrificed his former obligations to that connection, and went out at a back door, to avoid his presence.

Cicero, thus betrayed and deserted, had recourse to the consuls. Gabinius always treated him rudely; but Piso behaved with some civility. He advised him to withdraw from the torrent of Clodius's rage; to bear this change of the times with patience; and to be once more the saviour of his country, which, for his sake, was in all this trouble and commotion.

After this answer, Cicero consulted with his friends. Lucullus advised him to stay, and assured him he would be victorious. Others were of opinion that it was best to fly, because the people would soon be desirous of his return, when they were weary of the extravagance and madness of Clodius. He approved of this last advice; and taking a statue of Minerva, which he had long kept in his house with great devotion, he carried it to the Capitol, and dedicated it there, with this inscription: TO MINERVA, THE PROTECTRESS OF ROME. About midnight he privately quitted the city; and, with some friends who attended

to conduct him, took his route on foot through Lucania, intending to pass from thence to Sicily.

It was no sooner known that he was fled than Clodius procured a decree of banishment against him, which prohibited him fire and water, and admission into any house within 500 miles of Italy. But such was the veneration the people had for Cicero, that in general there was no regard paid to the decree. They showed him every sort of civility, and conducted him on his way with the most cordial attention. Only at Hipponium, a city of Lucania, now called Vibo, one Vibius, a native of Sicily, who had particular obligations to him, and, among other things, had an appointment under him, when consul, as surveyor of the works, now refused to admit him into his house; but at the same time, acquainted him that he would appoint a place in the country for his reception. And Caius Virginius, the prætor of Sicily, though indebted to Cicero for considerable services, wrote to forbid him entrance into that island.

Discouraged at these instances of ingratitude, he repaired to Brundisium, where he embarked for Dyrrhachium. At first he had a favourable gale, but the next day the wind turned about, and drove him back to port. He set sail, however, again, as soon as the wind was fair. It is reported, that when he was going to land at Dyrrhachium, there happened to be an earthquake, and the sea retired to a great distance from the shore. The diviners inferred that his exile would be of no long continuance, for these were tokens of a sudden change. Great numbers of people came to pay their respects to him; and the cities of Greece strove which should show him the greatest civilities; yet he continued dejected and disconsolate. Like a passionate lover, he often cast a longing look towards Italy, and behaved with a littleness of spirit which could not have been expected from a man that had enjoyed such opportunities of cultivation from letters and philosophy. Nay, he had often desired his friends not to call him an orator, but a philosopher, because he had made philosophy his business, and rhetoric only the instrument of his political operations. But opinion has great power to efface the tinctures of philosophy, and infuse the passions of the vulgar into the minds of statesmen, who have a necessary connection and commerce with the multitude; unless they take care so to engage in everything extrinsic as to attend to the business only, without imbibing the passions that are the common consequences of that business.

After Clodius had banished Cicero, he burned his villas, and his house in Rome; and on the place where the latter stood,

erected a temple to Liberty. His goods he put up to auction, and the crier gave notice of it every day, but no buyer appeared. By these means, he became formidable to the patricians ; and having drawn the people with him into the most audacious insolence and effrontery, he attacked Pompey, and called in question some of his acts and ordinances in the wars. As this exposed Pompey to some reflections, he blamed himself greatly for abandoning Cicero ; and, entirely changing his plan, took every means for effecting his return. As Clodius constantly opposed them, the senate decreed that no public business of any kind should be despatched by their body till Cicero was recalled.

In the consulship of Lentulus the sedition increased ; some of the tribunes were wounded in the *forum* ; and Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was left for dead among the slain. The people began now to change their opinion ; and Annius Milo, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to call Clodius to answer for his violation of the public peace. Many of the people of Rome, and of the neighbouring cities, joined Pompey ; with whose assistance he drove Clodius out of the *forum* ; and then he summoned the citizens to vote. It is said that nothing was ever carried among the commons with so great unanimity ; and the senate, endeavouring to give still higher proofs of their attachment to Cicero, decreed that their thanks should be given the cities which had treated him with kindness and respect during his exile ; and that his town and country houses, which Clodius had demolished, should be rebuilt at the public charge.*

Cicero returned sixteen months after his banishment ; and such joy was expressed by the cities, so much eagerness to meet him by all ranks of people, that his own account of it is less than the truth, though he said, that Italy had brought him on her shoulders to Rome. Crassus, who was his enemy before his exile, now readily went to meet him, and was reconciled. In this, he said, he was willing to oblige his son Publius, who was a great admirer of Cicero.

Not long after his return, Cicero, taking his opportunity when Clodius was absent, † went up with a great company to the

* The consuls decreed for rebuilding his house in Rome near £11,000 ; for his Tuscan villa near £3000 ; and for his Formian villa about half that sum, which Cicero called a very scanty estimate.

† Cicero had attempted this once before, when Clodius was present ; but Caius, the brother of Clodius, being prætor, by his means they were rescued out of the hands of Cicero.

Capitol, and destroyed the tribunitial tables, in which were recorded all the acts in Clodius's time. Clodius loudly complained of this proceeding; but Cicero answered, that his appointment as tribune was irregular, because he was of a patrician family, and consequently all his acts were invalid. Cato was displeased, and opposed Cicero in this assertion. Not that he praised Clodius; on the contrary, he was extremely offended at his administration; but he represented that it would be a violent stretch of prerogative for the senate to annul so many decrees and acts, among which were his own commission and his regulations at Cyprus and Byzantium. The difference which this produced between Cato and Cicero did not come to an absolute rupture; it only lessened the warmth of their friendship.

After this, Milo killed Clodius; and being arraigned for the fact, he chose Cicero for his advocate. The senate, fearing that the prosecution of a man of Milo's spirit and reputation might produce some tumult in the city, appointed Pompey to preside at this and the other trials; and to provide both for the peace of the city and the courts of justice. In consequence of which, he posted a body of soldiers in the *forum* before day, and secured every part of it. This made Milo apprehensive that Cicero would be disconcerted at so unusual a sight, and less able to plead. He therefore persuaded him to come in a litter to the *forum*; and to repose himself there until the judges were assembled, and the court filled; for he was not only timid in war, but he had his fears when he spoke in public; and in many causes he scarce left trembling even in the height and vehemence of his eloquence. When he undertook to assist in the defence of Licinius MURÆNA,* against the prosecution of Cato, he was ambitious to outdo Hortensius, who had already spoken with great applause; for which reason he sat up all night to prepare himself. But that watching and application hurt him so much that he appeared inferior to his rival.

When he came out of the litter to open the cause of Milo, and saw Pompey seated on high, as in a camp, and weapons glistering all around the *forum*, he was so confounded that he could scarce begin his oration. For he shook, and his tongue faltered; though Milo attended the trial with great courage, and had disdained to let his hair grow, or to put on mourning. These circumstances contributed not a little to his condemnation. As

* MURÆNA had retained three advocates, Hortensius, Marcus Crassus, and Cicero.

for Cicero, his trembling was imputed rather to his anxiety for his friend than to any particular timidity.

Cicero was appointed one of the priests called Augurs, in the room of young Crassus, who was killed in the Parthian war. Afterwards the province of Cilicia was allotted to him ; and he sailed thither with an army of 12,000 foot, and 2600 horse. He had it in charge to bring Cappadocia to submit to king Ariobarzanes ; which he performed to the satisfaction of all parties, without having recourse to arms. And finding the Cilicians elated on the miscarriage of the Romans in Parthia, and the commotions in Syria, he brought them to order by the gentleness of his government. He refused the presents which the neighbouring princes offered him. He excused the province from finding him a public table, and daily entertained at his own charge persons of honour and learning, not with magnificence indeed, but with elegance and propriety. He had no porter at his gate, nor did any man ever find him in bed ; for he rose early in the morning, and kindly received those who came to pay their court to him, either standing or walking before his door. We are told, that he never caused any man to be beaten with rods, or to have his garments rent ; * never gave opprobrious language in his anger, nor added insult to punishment. He recovered the public money which had been embezzled ; and enriched the cities with it. At the same time he was satisfied, if those who had been guilty of such frauds made restitution, and fixed no mark of infamy upon them.

He had also a taste of war ; for he routed the bands of robbers that had possessed themselves of Mount Amanus, and was saluted by his army *Imperator* on that account.† Cæcilius,‡ the orator, having desired him to send him some panthers from Cilicia for his games at Rome, in his answer he could not forbear boasting of his achievements. He said, there were no panthers left in Cilicia : those animals, in their vexation to find that they were the only objects of war, while everything else was at peace, were fled into Caria.

* This mark of ignominy was of great antiquity. "Wherefore Hanun took David's servants, and shaved off one half of their beards, and cut off their garments to the middle, even to their buttocks, and sent them away." —2 *Sam.* x. 4.

† He not only received this mark of distinction, but public thanksgivings were ordered at Rome for his success ; and the people went near to decree him a triumph. His services, therefore, must have been considerable, and Plutarch seems to mention them too slightly.

‡ Not Cæcilius, but Cælius. He was then ædile, and wanted the panthers for his public shows.

In his return from his province he stopped at Rhodes, and afterwards made some stay at Athens; which he did with great pleasure, in remembrance of the conversations he had formerly had there. He had now the company of all that were most famed for erudition; and visited his former friends and acquaintance. After he had received all due honours and marks of esteem from Greece, he passed on to Rome, where he found the fire of dissension kindled, and everything tending to a civil war.

When the senate decreed him a triumph, he said he had rather follow Cæsar's chariot-wheels in his triumph, if a reconciliation could be effected between him and Pompey. And in private he tried every healing and conciliating method, by writing to Cæsar, and entreating Pompey. After it came to an open rupture, and Cæsar was on his march to Rome, Pompey did not choose to wait for him, but retired, with numbers of the principal citizens in his train. Cicero did not attend him in his flight; and therefore it was believed that he would join Cæsar. It is certain that he fluctuated greatly in his opinion, and was in the utmost anxiety. For he says in his epistles, "Whither shall I turn?—Pompey has the more honourable cause; but Cæsar manages his affairs with the greatest address, and is most able to save himself and his friends. In short, I know whom to avoid, but not whom to seek." At last, one Trebatius, a friend of Cæsar's, signified to him by letter, that Cæsar thought he had reason to reckon him on his side, and to consider him as partner of his hopes. But if his age would not permit it, he might retire into Greece, and live there in tranquillity, without any connection with either party. Cicero was surprised that Cæsar did not write himself, and answered angrily, that he would do nothing unworthy of his political character. Such is the account we have of the matter in his epistles.

However, upon Cæsar's marching for Spain, he crossed the sea, and repaired to Pompey. His arrival was agreeable to the generality; but Cato blamed him privately for taking this measure. "As for me," said he, "it would have been wrong to leave that party which I embraced from the beginning; but you might have been much more serviceable to your country and your friends, if you had stayed at Rome, and accommodated yourself to events; whereas now, without any reason or necessity, you have declared yourself an enemy to Cæsar, and are come to share in the danger with which you had nothing to do."

These arguments made Cicero change his opinion; especially

when he found that Pompey did not employ him upon any considerable service. It is true, no one was to be blamed for this but himself; for he made no secret of his repenting. He disparaged Pompey's preparations; he insinuated his dislike of his counsels, and never spared his jests upon his allies. He was not, indeed, inclined to laugh himself; on the contrary, he walked about the camp with a very solemn countenance; but he often made others laugh, though they were little inclined to it. Perhaps it may not be amiss to give a few instances. When Domitius advanced a man who had no turn for war to the rank of captain, and assigned for his reason that he was an honest and prudent man; "Why, then," said Cicero, "do you not keep him for governor to your children?" When some were commending Theopanes the Lesbian, who was director of the board of works, for consoling the Rhodians on the loss of their fleet, "See," said Cicero, "what it is to have a Grecian director!" When Cæsar was successful in almost every instance, and held Pompey as it were besieged, Lentulus said he was informed that Cæsar's friends looked very sour. "You mean, I suppose," said Cicero, "that they are out of humour with him?" One Martius, newly arrived from Italy, told them a report prevailed at Rome that Pompey was blocked up in his camp: "Then," said Cicero, "you took a voyage on purpose to see it." After Pompey's defeat, Nonnius said there was room yet for hope, for there were seven eagles left in the camp. Cicero answered, "That would be good encouragement, if we were to fight with jackdaws." When Labienus, on the strength of some oracles, insisted that Pompey must be conqueror at last: "By this oracular generalship," said Cicero, "we have lost our camp."

After the battle of Pharsalia (in which he was not present, on account of his ill-health), and after the flight of Pompey, Cato, who had considerable forces, and a great fleet at Dyrrhachium, desired Cicero to take the command, because his consular dignity gave him a legal title to it. Cicero, however, not only declined it, but absolutely refused taking any farther share in the war. Upon which, young Pompey and his friends called him traitor, drew their swords, and would certainly have despatched him, had not Cato interposed, and conveyed him out of the camp.

He got safe to Brundisium, and stayed there some time in expectation of Cæsar, who was detained by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. When he heard that the conqueror was arrived at Tarentum, and designed to proceed from thence by land to

Brundisium, he set out to meet him ; not without hope, nor yet without some shame and reluctance at the thought of trying how he stood in the opinion of a victorious enemy before so many witnesses. He had no occasion, however, either to do or to say anything beneath his dignity. Cæsar no sooner beheld him, at some considerable distance, advancing before the rest, than he dismounted, and ran to embrace him ; after which he went on discoursing with him alone for many furlongs. He continued to treat him with great kindness and respect ; inso-much, that when he had written an encomium on Cato, which bore the name of that great man, Cæsar, in his answer, entitled *Anticato*, praised both the eloquence and conduct of Cicero ; and said he greatly resembled Pericles and Theramenes.

When Quintus Ligarius was prosecuted for bearing arms against Cæsar, and Cicero had undertaken to plead his cause, Cæsar is reported to have said, "Why may we not give ourselves a pleasure which we have not enjoyed so long, that of hearing Cicero speak ; since I have already taken my resolution as to Ligarius, who is clearly a bad man, as well as my enemy?" But he was greatly moved when Cicero began ; and his speech, as it proceeded, had such a variety of pathos, so irresistible a charm, that his colour often changed, and it was evident that his mind was torn with conflicting passions. At last, when the orator touched on the battle of Pharsalia, he was so extremely affected, that his whole frame trembled, and he let drop some papers out of his hand. Thus, conquered by the force of eloquence, he acquitted Ligarius.

The commonwealth being changed into a monarchy, Cicero withdrew from the scene of public business, and bestowed his leisure on the young men who were desirous to be instructed in philosophy. As these were of the best families, by his interest with them he once more obtained great authority in Rome. He made it his business to compose and translate philosophical dialogues, and to render the Greek terms of logic and natural philosophy in the Roman language. For it is said that he first, or principally, at least, gave Latin terms for these Greek words, *phantasia* [imagination], *syncatathesis* [assent], *epoche* [doubt], *catalepsis* [comprehension], *atomos* [atom], *ameres* [indivisible], *kenon* [void], and many other such terms in science ; contriving either by metaphorical expression, or strict translation, to make them intelligible and familiar to the Romans. His ready turn for poetry afforded him amusement ; for, we are told, when he was intent upon it, he could make 500 verses in one night. As in this period he spent most of his time at his Tusculan *villa*, he

wrote to his friends, that he led the life of Laertes ; either by way of raillery, as his custom was, or from an ambitious desire of public employment, and discontent in his present situation. Be that as it may, he rarely went to Rome, and then only to pay his court to Cæsar. He was always one of the first to vote him additional honours, and forward to say something new of him and his actions. Thus, when Cæsar ordered Pompey's statues, which had been pulled down, to be erected again, Cicero said, that by this act of humanity in setting up Pompey's statues he had established his own.

It is reported that he had formed a design to write the history of his own country, in which he would have interwoven many of the Grecian affairs, and inserted not only their speeches, but fables. But he was prevented by many disagreeable circumstances, both public and private, into most of which he brought himself by his own indiscretion. For, in the first place, he divorced his wife Terentia. The reasons he assigned were, that she had neglected him during the war, and even sent him out without necessaries. Besides, after his return to Italy, she behaved to him with little regard, and did not wait on him during his long stay at Brundisium. Nay, when his daughter, at that time very young, took so long a journey to see him, she allowed her but an indifferent equipage, and insufficient supplies. Indeed, according to his account, his house was become naked and empty through the many debts which she had contracted. These were the most specious pretences for the divorce. Terentia, however, denied all these charges ; and Cicero himself made a full apology for her, by marrying a younger woman not long after. Terentia said he took her merely for her beauty : but his freedman Tyro affirms that he married her for her wealth, that it might enable him to pay his debts. She was, indeed, very rich, and her fortune was in the hands of Cicero, who was left her guardian. As his debts were great, his friends and her relations persuaded him to marry the young lady, notwithstanding the disparity of years, and satisfy his creditors out of her fortune.

Antony, in his answer to the Philippics, taxes him with repudiating a wife with whom he was grown old ;* and rallies him on account of his perpetually keeping at home, like a man unfit either for business or war. Not long after this match, his daughter Tullia, who, after the death of Piso, had married Lentulus, died in childbed. The philosophers came from all

* Cicero was then sixty-two.

parts to comfort him ; for his loss affected him extremely ; and he even put away his new bride, because she seemed to rejoice at the death of Tullia. In this posture were Cicero's domestic affairs.

As to those of the public, he had no share in the conspiracy against Cæsar, though he was one of Brutus's particular friends ; and no man was more uneasy under the new establishment, or more desirous of having the commonwealth restored. Possibly they feared his natural deficiency of courage, as well as his time of life, at which the boldest begin to droop. After the work was done by Brutus and Cassius, the friends of Cæsar assembled to revenge his death ; and it was apprehended that Rome would again be plunged in civil wars. Antony, who was consul, ordered a meeting of the senate, and made a short speech on the necessity of union. But Cicero expatiated in a manner suitable to the occasion ; and persuaded the senate, in imitation of the Athenians, to pass a general amnesty as to all that had been done against Cæsar, and to decree provinces to Brutus and Cassius.

None of these things, however, took effect : for the people were inclined to pity on this event ; and when they beheld the dead body of Cæsar carried into the *forum*, where Antony showed them his robe stained with blood, and pierced on all sides with swords, they broke out into a transport of rage. They sought all over the *forum* for the actors in that tragedy, and ran with lighted torches to burn their houses. By their precaution they escaped this danger ; but as they saw others, no less considerable, impending, they left the city.

Antony, elated with this advantage, became formidable to all the opposite party, who supposed that he would aim at nothing less than absolute power ; but Cicero had particular reason to dread him. For being sensible that Cicero's weight in the administration was established again, and of his strong attachment to Brutus, Antony could hardly bear his presence. Besides, there had long been some jealousy and dislike between them on account of the dissimilarity of their lives. Cicero, fearing the event, was inclined to go with Dolabella into Syria, as his lieutenant. But afterwards Hirtius and Pansa, who were to be consuls after Antony, persons of great merit, and good friends to Cicero, desired him not to leave them ; and promised, with his assistance, to destroy Antony. Cicero, without depending much on their scheme, gave up that of going with Dolabella, and agreed with the consuls elect to pass the summer in Athens, and return when they entered upon their office.

Accordingly he embarked for that place without taking any principal Roman along with him. But his voyage being accidentally retarded, news was brought from Rome (for he did not choose to be without news), that there was a wonderful change in Antony ; that he took all his steps agreeably to the sense of the senate ; and that nothing but his presence was wanting to bring matters to the best establishment. He therefore condemned his excessive caution, and returned to Rome.

His first hopes were not disappointed. Such crowds came out to meet him, that almost a whole day was spent at the gates, and on his way home, in compliments and congratulations. Next day Antony convened the senate, and sent for Cicero ; but he kept his bed, pretending that he was indisposed with his journey. In reality he seems to have been afraid of assassination, in consequence of some hints he received by the way. Antony was extremely incensed at these suggestions, and ordered a party of soldiers either to bring him, or to burn his house in case of refusal. However, at the request of numbers who interposed, he revoked that order, and bade them only bring a pledge from his house.

After this, when they happened to meet, they passed each other in silence, and lived in mutual distrust. Meantime young Cæsar, arriving from Apollonia, put in his claim as heir to his uncle, and sued Antony for 25,000,000 drachmas,* which he detained of the estate.

Hereupon Philip, who had married the mother, and Marcellus, who was husband to the sister of Octavius, brought him to Cicero. It was agreed between them, that Cicero should assist Cæsar with his eloquence and interest, both with the senate and the people ; and that Cæsar should give Cicero all the protection that his wealth and military influence could afford : for the young man had already collected a considerable number of the veterans who had served under his uncle.

Cicero received the offer of his friendship with pleasure. For while Pompey and Cæsar were living, Cicero, it seems, had a dream, in which he thought he called some boys, the sons of senators, up to the Capitol, because Jupiter designed to pitch upon one of them for sovereign of Rome. The citizens ran with all the eagerness of expectation, and placed themselves about the temple ; and the boys in their *prætextæ* sat silent. The doors suddenly opening, the boys rose up one by one, and, in

* Plutarch is mistaken in the sum. It appears from Paternulus and others, that it was seven times as much.

their order, passed round the god, who reviewed them all, and sent them away disappointed : but when Octavius approached, he stretched out his hand to him, and said, "Romans, this is the person who, when he comes to be your prince, will put an end to your civil wars." This vision, they tell us, made such an impression upon Cicero, that he perfectly retained the figure and countenance of the boy, though he did not yet know him. Next day he went down to the Campus Martius, when the boys were just returning from their exercises ; and the first who struck his eye was the lad in the very form that he had seen in his dream. Astonished at the discovery, Cicero asked him who were his parents ; and he proved to be the son of Octavius, a person not much distinguished in life, and of Attia, sister to Cæsar. As he was so near a relation, and Cæsar had no children of his own, he adopted him, and, by will, left him his estate. Cicero, after his dream, whenever he met young Octavius, is said to have treated him with particular regard ; and he received those marks of his friendship with great satisfaction. Besides, he happened to be born the same year that Cicero was consul.

These were pretended to be the causes of their present connection. But the leading motive with Cicero was his hatred of Antony ; and the next his natural avidity of glory. For he hoped to throw the weight of Octavius into the scale of the commonwealth ; and the latter behaved to him with such a puerile deference, that he even called him father. Hence Brutus, in his letters to Atticus, expressed his indignation against Cicero, and said, that, as through fear of Antony he paid his court to young Cæsar, it was plain that he took not his measures for the liberty of his country, but only to obtain a gentle master for himself. Nevertheless, Brutus finding the son of Cicero at Athens, where he was studying under the philosophers, gave him a command, and employed him upon many services which proved successful.

Cicero's power at this time was at its greatest height ; he carried every point that he desired ; insomuch that he expelled Antony, and raised such a spirit against him, that the consuls Hirtius and Pansa were sent to give him battle ; and Cicero likewise prevailed upon the senate to grant Cæsar the fasces with the dignity of prætor, as one that was fighting for his country.

Antony, indeed, was beaten ; but both the consuls falling in the action, the troops ranged themselves under the banners of Cæsar. The senate now fearing the views of a young man who

was so much favoured by fortune, endeavoured by honours and gifts to draw his forces from him and to diminish his power. They alleged, that, as Antony was put to flight, there was no need to keep such an army on foot. Cæsar, alarmed at these vigorous measures, privately sent some friends to entreat and persuade Cicero to procure the consulship for them both; promising at the same time, that he should direct all affairs according to his better judgment, and find him perfectly tractable, who was but a youth, and had no ambition for anything but the title and the honour. Cæsar himself acknowledged afterwards, that, in his apprehensions of being entirely ruined and deserted, he seasonably availed himself of Cicero's ambition, persuaded him to stand for the consulship, and undertook to support his application with his whole interest.

In this case particularly, Cicero, old as he was, suffered himself to be imposed upon by this young man, solicited the people for him, and brought the senate into his interest. His friends blamed him for it at the time; and it was not long before he was sensible that he had ruined himself, and given up the liberties of his country: for Cæsar was no sooner strengthened with the consular authority, than he gave up Cicero;* and reconciling himself to Antony and Lepidus, he united his power with theirs, and divided the empire among them, as if it had been a private estate. At the same time they proscribed about 200 persons whom they had pitched upon for a sacrifice. The greatest difficulty and dispute was about the proscription of Cicero: for Antony would come to no terms till he was first taken off. Lepidus agreed with Antony in this preliminary, but Cæsar opposed them both. They had a private congress for these purposes near the city of Bononia, which lasted three days. The place where they met was over against their camps, a little island in the river. Cæsar is said to have contended for Cicero the two first days; but the third he gave him up. The sacrifices on each part were these: Cæsar was to abandon Cicero to his fate; Lepidus, his brother Paulus; and Antony, Lucius Cæsar, his uncle by the mother's side. Thus rage and rancour entirely stifled in them all sentiments of humanity; or, more properly speaking, they showed that no beast is more savage than man, when he is possessed of power equal to his passion.

While his enemies were thus employed, Cicero was at his Tusculan villa, and his brother Quintus with him. When they were informed of the proscription, they determined to remove

* Instead of taking him for his colleague, he chose Quintus Pedius.

to Astyra, a country-house of Cicero's near the sea ; where they intended to take a ship, and repair to Brutus in Macedonia ; for it was reported, that he was already very powerful in those parts. They were carried in their separate litters, oppressed with sorrow and despair ; and often joining their litters on the road. Quintus was the more dejected, because he was in want of necessaries ; for, as he said, he had brought nothing from home with him. Cicero, too, had but a slender provision. They concluded, therefore, that it would be best for Cicero to hasten his flight, and for Quintus to return to his house, and get some supplies. This resolution being fixed upon, they embraced each other with every expression of sorrow, and then parted.

A few days after, Quintus and his son were betrayed by his servants to the assassins who came in quest of them, and lost their lives. As for Cicero, he was carried to Astyra ; where, finding a vessel, he immediately went on board, and coasted along to Circæum with a favourable wind. The pilots were preparing immediately to sail from thence ; but whether it was that he feared the sea, or had not yet given up all his hopes in Cæsar, he disembarked, and travelled a hundred furlongs on foot, as if Rome had been the place of his destination. Repenting, however, afterwards, he left that road, and made again for the sea. He passed the night in the most perplexing and horrid thoughts ; insomuch that he was sometimes inclined to go privately into Cæsar's house, and stab himself upon the altar of his domestic gods, to bring the divine vengeance upon his betrayer. But he was deterred from this by the fear of torture. Other alternatives, equally distressful, presented themselves. At last, he put himself in the hands of his servants, and ordered them to carry him by sea to Cajeta,* where he had a delightful retreat in the summer, when the Etesian winds set in.† There was a temple of Apollo on that coast, from which a flight of crows came, with great noise, towards Cicero's vessel, as it was making land. They perched on both sides the sailyard, where some sat croaking and others pecking the ends of the ropes. All looked upon this as an ill omen ; yet Cicero went on shore, and, entering his house, lay down to repose himself. In the meantime a number of the crows settled in the chamber-window, and croaked in the most doleful manner. One of them even entered in, and alighting on the bed, attempted with its

* According to Appian, Cicero was killed near Capua ; but Valerius Maximus says the scene of that tragedy was at Cajeta.

† The north-east winds.

beak to draw off the clothes with which he had covered his face. On sight of this, the servants began to reproach themselves. "Shall we," said they, "remain to be spectators of our master's murder? Shall we not protect him, so innocent and so great a sufferer as he is, when the brute creatures give him marks of their care and attention?" Then, partly by entreaty, partly by force, they got him into his litter, and carried him towards the sea.

Meantime the assassins came up. They were commanded by Herennius, a centurion, and Pompilius, a tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended when under a prosecution for parricide. The doors of the house being made fast, they broke them open. Still Cicero did not appear, and the servants who were left behind said they knew nothing of him. But a young man, named Philologus, his brother Quintus's freedman, whom Cicero had instructed in the liberal arts and sciences, informed the tribune that they were carrying the litter through deep shades to the sea-side. The tribune, taking a few soldiers with him, ran to the end of the walk where he was to come out. But Cicero perceiving that Herennius was hastening after him, ordered his servants to set the litter down; and putting his left hand to his chin, as it was his custom to do, he looked steadfastly upon his murderers. Such an appearance of misery in his face, overgrown with hair, and wasted with anxiety, so much affected the attendants of Herennius, that they covered their faces during the melancholy scene. That officer despatched him, while he stretched his neck out of the litter to receive the blow. Thus fell Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Herennius cut off his head, and, by Antony's command, his hands too, with which he had written the *Philippics*. Such was the title he gave his orations against Antony, and they retain it to this day.

When these parts of Cicero's body were brought to Rome, Antony happened to be holding an assembly for the election of magistrates. He no sooner beheld them, than he cried out, "Now let there be an end of all proscriptions." He ordered the head and hands to be fastened up over the *rostra*, a dreadful spectacle to the Roman people, who thought they did not so much see the face of Cicero as a picture of Antony's soul. Yet he did one act of justice on this occasion, which was the delivering up Philologus to Pomponia, the wife of Quintus. When she was mistress of his fate, beside other horrid punishments, she made him cut off his own flesh by piecemeal, and roast and eat it. This is the account some historians give us;

but Tyro, Cicero's freedman, makes no mention of the treachery of Philologus.

I am informed, that a long time after, Cæsar going to see one of his grandsons, found him with a book of Cicero's in his hands. The boy, alarmed at the accident, endeavoured to hide the book under his robe ; which Cæsar perceived, and took it from him : and after having run most of it over as he stood, he returned it, and said, " My dear child, this was an eloquent man, and a lover of his country."

Being consul at the time when he conquered Antony, he took the son of Cicero for his colleague ; under whose auspices the senate took down the statues of Antony, defaced all the monuments of his honour, and decreed that, for the future, none of his family should bear the name of Marcus. Thus the divine justice reserved the completion of Antony's punishment for the house of Cicero.

DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO COMPARED.

THESSE are the most memorable circumstances in the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero that could be collected from the historians which have come to our knowledge. Though I shall not pretend to compare their talents for speaking ; yet this, I think, I ought to observe, that Demosthenes, by the exertion of all his powers, both natural and acquired, upon that object only, came to exceed in energy and strength the most celebrated pleaders of his time ; in grandeur and magnificence of style, all that were eminent for the sublime of declamation ; and in accuracy and art, the most able professors of rhetoric. Cicero's studies were more general ; and, in his treasures of knowledge, he had a great variety. He has left us a number of philosophical tracts, which he composed upon the principles of the academy ; and we see something of an ostentation of learning in the very orations which he wrote for the *forum* and the bar.

Their different tempers are discernible in their way of writing. That of Demosthenes, without any embellishments of wit and humour, is always grave and serious. Nor does it smell of the lamp, as Pytheas tauntingly said, but of the water-drinker, of the man of thought, of one who was characterised by the austerities of life. But Cicero, who loved to indulge his vein

of pleasantry, so much affected the wit, that he sometimes sunk into the buffoon; and by affecting gaiety in the most serious things, to serve his client, he had offended against the rules of propriety and decorum. Thus, in his oration for Cælius, he says, "Where is the absurdity, if a man, with an affluent fortune at command, shall indulge himself in pleasure? It would be madness not to enjoy what is in his power; particularly when some of the greatest philosophers place man's chief good in pleasure?"*

When Cato impeached Murena, Cicero, who was then consul, undertook his defence; and, in his pleading, took occasion to ridicule several paradoxes of the Stoics, because Cato was of that sect. He succeeded so far as to raise a laugh in the assembly; and even among the judges. Upon which Cato smiled, and said to those who sat by him, "What a pleasant consul we have!" Cicero, indeed, was naturally facetious; and he not only loved his jest, but his countenance was gay and smiling. Whereas Demosthenes had a care and thoughtfulness in his aspect, which he seldom or never put off. Hence, his enemies, as he confesses, called him a morose ill-natured man.

It appears also from their writings, that Demosthenes, when he touches upon his own praise, does it with an inoffensive delicacy. Indeed he never gives in to it at all, but when he has some great point in view; and on all other occasions is extremely modest. But Cicero, in his orations, speaks in such high terms of himself, that it is plain he had a most intemperate vanity. Thus he cries out—

"Let arms revere the robe, the warrior's laurel
Yield to the palm of eloquence."

At length he came to commend not only his own actions and operations in the commonwealth, but his orations too, as well those which he had only pronounced as those he had committed to writing, as if, with a juvenile vanity, he were vying with the rhetoricians Isocrates and Anaximenes, instead of being inspired with the great ambition of guiding the Roman people—

"Fierce in the field, and dreadful to the foe."

It is necessary, indeed, for a statesman to have the advantage of eloquence; but it is mean and illiberal to rest in such a

* Plutarch has not quoted this passage with accuracy. Cicero apologises for the excesses of youth; but does not defend or approve the pursuit of pleasure.

qualification, or to hunt after praise in that quarter. In this respect Demosthenes behaved with more dignity, with a superior elevation of soul. He said his ability to explain himself was a mere acquisition ; and not so perfect, but that it required great candour and indulgence in the audience. He thought it must be, as indeed it is, only a low and little mind that can value itself upon such attainments.

They both, undoubtedly, had political abilities, as well as powers to persuade. They had them in such a degree, that men, who had armies at their devotion, stood in need of their support. Thus Chares, Diopithes, and Leosthenes availed themselves of Demosthenes ; Pompey and young Cæsar, of Cicero ; as Cæsar himself acknowledges, in his Commentaries addressed to Agrippa and Mæcenæ.

It is an observation no less just than common, that nothing makes so thorough a trial of a man's disposition as power and authority ; for they awake every passion and discover every latest vice. Demosthenes never had an opportunity for a trial of this kind. He never obtained any eminent charge ; nor did he lead those armies against Philip which his eloquence had raised. But Cicero went quæstor into Sicily, and pro-consul into Cilicia and Cappadocia ; at a time, too, when avarice reigned without control ; when the governors of provinces, thinking it beneath them to take a clandestine advantage, fell to open plunder ; when to take another's property was thought no great crime, and he who took moderately passed for a man of character. Yet, at such a time as this, Cicero gave many proofs of his contempt of money ; many of his humanity and goodness. At Rome, with the title only of consul, he had an absolute and dictatorial power against Catiline and his accomplices. On which occasion he verified the prediction of Plato, that every state will be delivered from its calamities, when, by the favour of fortune, great power unites with wisdom and justice in one person.

It is mentioned to the disgrace of Demosthenes that his eloquence was mercenary ; that he privately composed orations both for Phormio and Apollodorus, though adversaries in the same cause. To which we may add that he was suspected of receiving money from the king of Persia, and condemned for taking bribes of Harpalus. Supposing some of these the calumnies of those who wrote against him (and they are not a few) ; yet it is impossible to affirm that he was proof against the presents which were sent him by princes as marks of honour and respect. This was too much to be expected from a man

who vested his money at interest upon ships. Cicero, on the other hand, had magnificent presents sent him by the Sicilians, when he was ædile ; by the king of Cappadocia, when proconsul ; and his friends pressed him to receive their benefactions, when in exile ; yet, as we have already observed, he refused them all.

The banishment of Demosthenes reflected infamy upon him ; for he was convicted of taking bribes : that of Cicero, great honour ; because he suffered for destroying traitors, who had vowed the ruin of their country. The former, therefore, departed without exciting pity or regret : for the latter, the senate changed their habit, continued in mourning, and could not be persuaded to pass any act till the people had recalled him. Cicero, indeed, spent the time of exile in an inactive manner in Macedonia ; but with Demosthenes it was a busy period in his political character. Then it was (as we have mentioned above) that he went to the several cities of Greece, strengthened the common interest, and defeated the designs of the Macedonian ambassadors. In which respect he discovered a much greater regard for his country than Themistocles and Alcibiades, when under the same misfortune. After his return, he pursued his former plan of government, and continued the war with Antipater and the Macedonians. Whereas Lælius reproached Cicero in full senate with sitting silent, when Cæsar, who was not yet come to years of maturity, applied for the consulship contrary to law. And Brutus, in one of his letters, charged him with having reared a greater and more insupportable tyranny than that which they had destroyed.

As to the manner of their death, we cannot think of Cicero's without a contemptuous kind of pity. How deplorable to see an old man, for want of proper resolution, suffering himself to be carried about by his servants, endeavouring to hide himself from death, which was a messenger that nature would soon have sent him, and overtaken notwithstanding and slaughtered by his enemies ! The other, though he did discover some fear, by taking sanctuary, is, nevertheless, to be admired for the provision he had made of poison, for the care with which he had preserved it, and his noble manner of using it. So that, when Neptune did not afford him an asylum, he had recourse to a more inviolable altar, rescued himself from the weapons of the guards, and eluded the cruelty of Antipater.

*Crown 8vo, about 350 pp. each, Cloth Cover, 2s. 6d. per vol.
Half-polished Morocco, gilt top, 5s.*

COUNT TOLSTOI'S WORKS.

The following Volumes are already issued—

A RUSSIAN PROPRIETOR.

THE COSSACKS.

IVAN ILYITCH, AND OTHER STORIES.

THE INVADERS, AND OTHER STORIES.

MY RELIGION.

LIFE.

MY CONFESSION.

CHILDHOOD, BOYHOOD, YOUTH.

THE PHYSIOLOGY OF WAR.

ANNA KARÉNINA. (2 VOLS.)

WHAT TO DO?

WAR AND PEACE. (4 VOLS.)

THE LONG EXILE, AND OTHER STORIES FOR CHILDREN

SEVASTOPOL.

Uniform with the above.

IMPRESSIONS OF RUSSIA

BY DR. GEORG BRANDES.

London : WALTER SCOTT, 24 Warwick Lane, Paternoster Row.

NEW BOOKLETS.

*Crown 8vo, in White Embossed Boards, Gilt Lettering,
One Shilling each.*

By COUNT LEO TOLSTOÏ.

WHERE LOVE IS, THERE GOD IS ALSO.

THE TWO PILGRIMS.

WHAT MEN LIVE BY.

Published originally in Russia, as tracts for the people, these little stories, which Mr. Walter Scott will issue separately early in February, in "booklet" form, possess all the grace, naïveté, and power which characterise the work of Count Tolstoï, and while inculcating in the most penetrating way the Christian ideas of love, humility, and charity, are perfect in their art form as stories pure and simple.

ADAPTED FOR PRESENTATION AT EASTER.

London: WALTER SCOTT, 24 Warwick Lane.

Monthly Shilling Volumes. Cloth, cut or uncut edges.

THE CAMELOT SERIES.

EDITED BY ERNEST RHYS.

VOLUMES ALREADY ISSUED—

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| ROMANCE OF KING ARTHUR. | Edited by Ernest Rhys. |
| THOREAU'S WALDEN. | Edited by Will H. Dircks. |
| ENGLISH OPIUM-EATER. | Edited by William Sharp. |
| LANDOR'S CONVERSATIONS. | Edited by H. Ellis. |
| PLUTARCH'S LIVES. | Edited by B. J. Snell, M.A. |
| RELIGIO MEDICI, &c. | Edited by J. A. Symonds. |
| SHELLEY'S LETTERS. | Edited by Ernest Rhys. |
| PROSE WRITINGS OF SWIFT. | Edited by W. Lewin. |
| MY STUDY WINDOWS. | Edited by R. Garnett, LL.D. |
| GREAT ENGLISH PAINTERS. | Edited by William Sharp. |
| LORD BYRON'S LETTERS. | Edited by M. Blind. |
| ESSAYS BY LEIGH HUNT. | Edited by A. Symonds. |
| LONGFELLOW'S PROSE. | Edited by W. Tirebuck. |
| GREAT MUSICAL COMPOSERS. | Edited by E. Sharp. |
| MARCUS AURELIUS. | Edited by Alice Zimmern. |
| SPECIMEN DAYS IN AMERICA. | By Walt Whitman. |
| WHITE'S SELBORNE. | Edited by Richard Jefferies. |
| DEFOE'S SINGLETON. | Edited by H. Halliday Sparling. |
| MAZZINI'S ESSAYS. | Edited by William Clarke. |
| PROSE WRITINGS OF HEINE. | Edited by H. Ellis. |
| REYNOLDS' DISCOURSES. | Edited by Helen Zimmern. |
| PAPERS OF STEELE AND ADDISON. | Edited by W. Lewin. |
| BURNS'S LETTERS. | Edited by J. Logie Robertson, M.A. |
| VOLSUNGA SAGA. | Edited by H. H. Sparling. |
| SARTOR RESARTUS. | Edited by Ernest Rhys. |
| WRITINGS OF EMERSON. | Edited by Percival Chubb. |
| SENECA'S MORALS. | Edited by Walter Clode. |
| DEMOCRATIC VISTAS. | By Walt Whitman. |
| LIFE OF LORD HERBERT. | Edited by Will H. Dircks. |
| ENGLISH PROSE. | Edited by Arthur Galton. |
| IBSEN'S PILLARS OF SOCIETY. | Edited by H. Ellis. |
| FAIRY AND FOLK TALES. | Edited by W. B. Yeats. |
| EPICTETUS. | Edited by T. W. Rolleston. |
| THE ENGLISH POETS. | By James Russell Lowell. |
| ESSAYS OF DR. JOHNSON. | Edited by Stuart J. Reid. |
| ESSAYS OF WILLIAM HAZLITT. | Edited by Frank Carr. |
| LANDOR'S PENTAMERON, &c. | Edited by H. Ellis. |
| POE'S TALES AND ESSAYS. | Edited by Ernest Rhys. |
| VICAR OF WAKEFIELD. | Edited by Ernest Rhys. |
| POLITICAL ORATIONS. | Edited by William Clarke. |
| CHESTERFIELD'S LETTERS. | Selected by C. Sayle. |
| THOREAU'S WEEK. | Edited by Will H. Dircks. |
| STORIES FROM CARLETON. | Edited by W. B. Yeats. |
| AUTOCRAT OF THE BREAKFAST-TABLE. | By O. W. Holmes. |
| JANE EYRE. | Edited by Clement Shorter. |
| ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND. | Edited by Lothrop Withington. |
| WRITINGS OF THOMAS DAVIS. | Edited by T. W. Rolleston. |
| SPENCE'S ANECDOTES. | Edited by John Underhill. |
| MORE'S UTOPIA. | Edited by Maurice Adams. |
| SADI'S GULISTAN. | Edited by Charles Sayle. |
| ENGLISH FOLK AND FAIRY TALES. | Edited by E. S. Hartland. |

London: WALTER SCOTT, 24 Warwick Lane, Paternoster Row.

GREAT WRITERS.

A NEW SERIES OF CRITICAL BIOGRAPHIES

Edited by Professor ERIC S. ROBERTSON, M.A.

MONTHLY SHILLING VOLUMES.

VOLUMES ALREADY ISSUED—

LIFE OF LONGFELLOW. By Prof. Eric S. Robertson.

"A most readable little work."—*Liverpool Mercury*.

LIFE OF COLERIDGE. By Hall Caine.

"Brief and vigorous, written throughout with spirit and great literary skill."—*Scotsman*.

LIFE OF DICKENS. By Frank T. Marzials.

"Notwithstanding the mass of matter that has been printed relating to Dickens and his works . . . we should, until we came across this volume, have been at a loss to recommend any popular life of England's most popular novelist as being really satisfactory. The difficulty is removed by Mr. Marzials's little book."—*Athenæum*.

LIFE OF DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI. By J. Knight.

"Mr. Knight's picture of the great poet and painter is the fullest and best yet presented to the public."—*The Graphic*.

LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON. By Colonel F. Grant.

"Colonel Grant has performed his task with diligence, sound judgment, good taste, and accuracy."—*Illustrated London News*.

LIFE OF DARWIN. By G. T. Bettany.

"Mr. G. T. Bettany's *Life of Darwin* is a sound and conscientious work."—*Saturday Review*.

LIFE OF CHARLOTTE BRONTË. By A. Birrell.

"Those who know much of Charlotte Brontë will learn more, and those who know nothing about her will find all that is best worth learning in Mr. Birrell's pleasant book."—*St. James' Gazette*.

LIFE OF THOMAS CARLYLE. By R. Garnett, LL.D.

"This is an admirable book. Nothing could be more felicitous and fairer than the way in which he takes us through Carlyle's life and works."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

LIFE OF ADAM SMITH. By R. B. Haldane, M.P.

"Written with a perspicuity seldom exemplified when dealing with economic science."—*Scotsman*.

LIFE OF KEATS. By W. M. Rossetti.

"Valuable for the ample information which it contains."—*Cambridge Independent*.

LIFE OF SHELLEY. By William Sharp.

"The criticisms . . . entitle this capital monograph to be ranked with the best biographies of Shelley."—*Westminster Review*.

LIFE OF SMOLLETT. By David Hannay.

"A capable record of a writer who still remains one of the great masters of the English novel."—*Saturday Review*.

LIFE OF GOLDSMITH. By Austin Dobson.

"The story of his literary and social life in London, with all its humorous and pathetic vicissitudes, is here retold, as none could tell it better."—*Daily News*.

LIFE OF SCOTT. By Professor Yonge.

"This is a most enjoyable book."—*Aberdeen Free Press*.

LIFE OF BURNS. By Professor Blackie.

"The editor certainly made a hit when he persuaded Blackie to write about Burns."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

LIFE OF VICTOR HUGO. By Frank T. Marzials.

"Mr. Marzials's volume presents to us, in a more handy form than any English or even French handbook gives, the summary of what is known about the life of the great poet."—*Saturday Review*.

LIFE OF EMERSON. By Richard Garnett, LL.D.

"No record of Emerson's life could be more desirable."—*Saturday Review*.

LIFE OF GOETHE. By James Sime.

"Mr. James Sime's competence as a biographer of Goethe is beyond question."—*Manchester Guardian*.

LIFE OF CONGREVE. By Edmund Gosse.

"Mr. Gosse has written an admirable biography."—*Academy*.

LIFE OF BUNYAN. By Canon Venables.

"A most intelligent, appreciative, and valuable memoir."—*Scotsman*.

LIFE OF CRABBE. By T. E. Kebbel.

"No English poet since Shakespeare has observed certain aspects of nature and of human life more closely."—*Athenæum*.

LIFE OF HEINE. By William Sharp.

"An admirable monograph . . . more fully written up to the level of recent knowledge and criticism than any other English work."—*Scotsman*

LIFE OF MILL. By W. L. Courtney.

"A most sympathetic and discriminating memoir."—*Glasgow Herald*.

LIFE OF SCHILLER. By Henry W. Nevinson.

"Presents the poet's life in a neatly rounded picture."—*Scotsman*.

LIFE OF CAPTAIN MARRYAT. By David Hannay.

"We have nothing but praise for the manner in which Mr. Hannay has done justice to him."—*Saturday Review*.

LIFE OF LESSING. By T. W. Rolleston.

"One of the best books of the series."—*Manchester Guardian*.

LIFE OF MILTON. By Richard Garnett, LL.D.

"Has never been more charmingly or adequately told."—*Scottish Leader*

LIFE OF BALZAC. By Frederick Wedmore.

LIFE OF GEORGE ELIOT. By Oscar Browning.

LIFE OF JANE AUSTEN. By Goldwin Smith.

LIFE OF BROWNING. By William Sharp.

Complete Bibliography to each volume, by J. P. ANDERSON, British Museum.

Volumes are in preparation by Arthur Symonds, W. E. Henley, Hermann Merivale, H. E. Watts, Cosmo Monkhouse, Frank T. Marzials, W. H. Pollock, John Addington Symonds, Stepiak, Moncreu Conway, Professor Wallace, Lloyd Sanders, etc., etc.

Library Edition of "Great Writers," Demy 8vo, 2s. 6d.

London: WALTER SCOTT, 24 Warwick Lane, Paternoster Row.

The Canterbury Poets.

EDITED BY WILLIAM SHARP.

IN SHILLING MONTHLY VOLUMES, SQUARE 8vo.

Cloth, Red Edges - 1s.
Cloth, Uncut Edges - 1s.

Red Roan, Gilt Edges 2s. 6d.
Pad. Morocco, Gilt Edges - 5s.

THE FOLLOWING VOLUMES ARE NOW READY.

KEBLE'S CHRISTIAN YEAR.
COLERIDGE. Ed. by J. Skipsey.
LONGFELLOW. Ed. by E. Hope.
CAMPBELL. Ed. by J. Hogben.
SHELLEY. Edited by J. Skipsey.
WORDSWORTH.

Edited by A. J. Symington.
BLAKE. Ed. by Joseph Skipsey.
WHITTIER. Ed. by Eva Hope.
POE. Edited by Joseph Skipsey.
CHATTERTON. By J. Richmond.
BURNS. Poems } Edited by
BURNS. Songs } Joseph Skipsey.
MARLOWE. Ed. by P. E. Pinkerton.
KEATS. Edited by John Hogben.
HERBERT. Edited by E. Rhys.
HUGO. Trans. by Dean Carrington.
COWPER. Edited by Eva Hope.
SHAKESPEARE'S Poems, etc.

Edited by William Sharp.
EMERSON. Edited by W. Lewin.
SONNETS of this CENTURY.

Edited by William Sharp.
WHITMAN. Edited by E. Rhys.
SCOTT. Marmion, etc.
SCOTT. Lady of the Lake, etc.

Edited by William Sharp.
PRAED. Edited by Fred. Cooper.
HOGG. By his Daughter, Mrs. Garden.
GOLDSMITH. Ed. by W. Tirebuck.
MACKAY'S LOVE LETTERS.
SPENSER. Edited by Hon. R. Noel.
CHILDREN OF THE POETS.

Edited by Eric S. Robertson.
JONSON. Edited by J. A. Symonds.
BYRON (2 Vols.) Ed. by M. Blind.
THE SONNETS OF EUROPE.

Edited by S. Waddington.
RAMSAY. Ed. by J. L. Robertson.
DOBELL. Edited by Mrs. Dobell.
DAYS OF THE YEAR.

With Introduction by Wm. Sharp.
POPE. Edited by John Hogben.
HEINE. Edited by Mrs. Kroeker.
BEAUMONT & FLETCHER.

Edited by J. S. Fletcher.
BOWLES, LAMB, &c.
 Edited by William Tirebuck.

EARLY ENGLISH POETRY.
 Edited by H. Macaulay Fitzgibbon.

SEA MUSIC. Edited by Mrs Sharp
HERRICK. Edited by Ernest Rhys.
BALLADES AND RONDEAUS
 Edited by J. Gleeson White.

IRISH MINSTRELSY.
 Edited by H. Halliday Sparling.

MILTON'S PARADISE LOST.
 Edited by J. Bradshaw, M.A., LL.D.

JACOBITE BALLADS.
 Edited by G. S. Macquoid.

AUSTRALIAN BALLADS.
 Edited by D. B. W. Sladen, B.A.

MOORE. Edited by John Dorrian.
BORDER BALLADS.

Edited by Graham R. Tomson.
SONG-TIDE. By P. B. Marston.

ODES OF HORACE.
 Translations by Sir S. de Vere, Bt.

OSSIAN. Edited by G. E. Todd.

ELFIN MUSIC. Ed. by A. Waite.
SOUTHEY. Ed. by S. R. Thompson.

CHAUCER. Edited by F. N. Paton
POEMS OF WILD LIFE.

Edited by Chas. G. D. Roberts, M.A.
PARADISE REGAINED.

Edited by J. Bradshaw, M.A., LL.D.
CRABBE. Edited by E. Lamplough.

DORA GREENWELL.
 Edited by William Dorling.

FAUST. Edited by E. Craigmyle.
AMERICAN SONNETS.

Edited by William Sharp
LANDOR'S POEMS.

Selected and Edited by E. Radford.
GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

Edited by Graham R. Tomson.
HUNT AND HOOD.

Edited by J. Harwood Panting.
HUMOROUS POEMS.

Edited by Ralph H. Caine.
LYTTON'S PLAYS.

Edited by R. F. Sharp.
GREAT ODES.

Edited by William Sharp.

RECENT VOLUMES OF VERSE.

Edition de Luxe. Crown 4to, on Antique Paper, Price 12s. 6d.

SONNETS OF THIS CENTURY.

By WILLIAM SHARP.

Crown 8vo, Cloth, Bevelled Boards, Price 3s. 6d. each.

IN FANCY DRESS.

“IT IS THYSELF.”

By MARK ANDRE RAFFALOVICH.

Crown 8vo, Cloth, Bevelled Boards, Price 3s. 6d.

CAROLS FROM THE COAL-FIELDS:

AND OTHER SONGS AND BALLADS.

By JOSEPH SKIPSEY.

Cloth Gilt, Price 3s.

LAST YEAR'S LEAVES.

By JOHN JERVIS BERESFORD, M.A.

Crown 8vo, Cloth Gilt, Price 3s. 6d.

BALLADS AND OTHER POEMS.

By GEORGE ROBERTS HEDLEY.

Fourth Edition, Crown 8vo, Cloth Gilt, Price 3s. 6d.

TALES AND BALLADS OF WEARSIDE.

By JOHN GREEN.

Second Edition. Price 3s.

ROMANTIC BALLADS AND POEMS

OF PHANTASY.

By WILLIAM SHARP.

Parchment Limp, 3s.

DEATH'S DISGUISES AND OTHER SONNETS.

By FRANK T. MARZIALS.

London: WALTER SCOTT, 24 Warwick Lane, Paternoster Row.

SEASON 1890.

Now Ready, Price (Cloth) 3/6.

THOROUGHLY REVISED, NEW ILLUSTRATIONS, STEAMER TIME
TABLES, SKELETON TOURS.

THE LAND OF THE VIKINGS,
A POPULAR
GUIDE TO NORWAY.

CONTAINING

Description of that Wonderful Country.

Constitution and Politics of Norway.

Hints to Tourists.

Railway and Steamboat Arrangements.

Popular Tourist Routes by Fjeld and Fjord.

Tables of Exchange.

Cost of Travelling in Norway.

Trips to the North Cape.

The Scenery of the Sogne, the Hardanger, the Hjørund, Norang,
and other famous Arms of the Sea.

Fishing and Shooting.

Modes of Travel.

Rates of Charges for Horse and Carriole, etc.

Tourist Tracks to all Parts.

Tables of Distances from Station to Station.

Maps of the Principal Routes, and every other Information useful
to the traveller.

London: WALTER SCOTT, 24 Warwick Lane. Paternoster Row.





